How the Khilafah was Destroyed

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Translation of the Qur'an

It should be perfectly clear that the Qur'an is only authentic in its original language, Arabic. Since perfect translation of the Qur'an is impossible, the term 'Translation of the Meaning of the Qur'an (TMQ) has been used, as the result is only a crude meaning of the Arabic text.

Sayings of Prophet Muhammad (saw) appear in **bold**

swt - subhanahu wa ta'ala
saw - sallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam
ra - radhi allaho anha'

AH - After Hijrah
CE - Common Era

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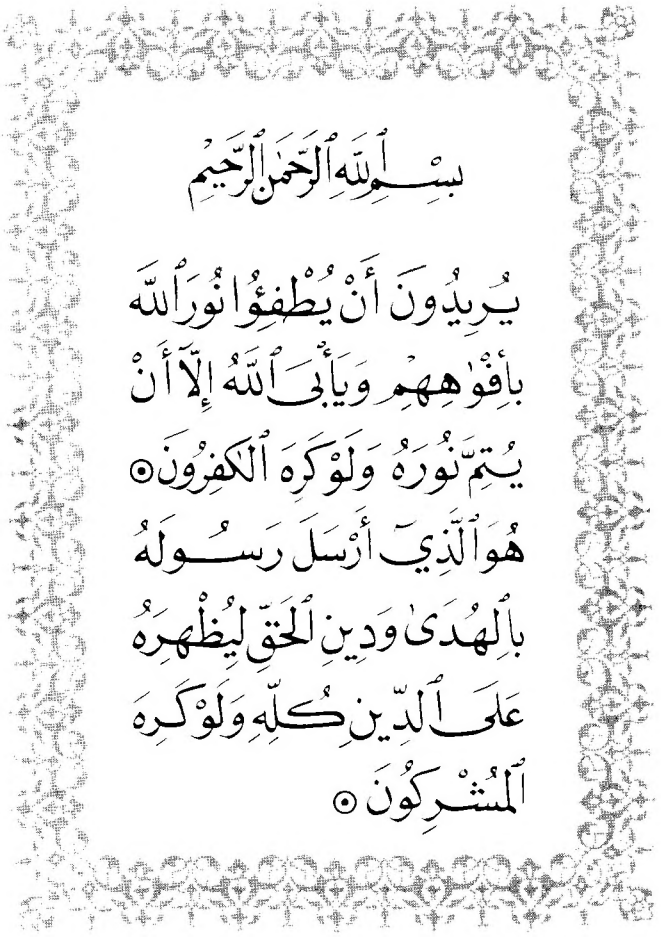

"They want to extinguish Allah's Light with their mouths,
but Allah will not allow except that His Light should be
perfected even though the disbelievers hate it.
It is He who has sent His Messenger with guidance and the Deen of truth,
to make it superior over all religions even though the
Mushrikoon (polytheists) hate it."

[TMQ Al Tauba 9:32-33]

The struggle between Islam and Kufr

The fierce struggle between the Islamic thoughts and the *Kufr* thoughts, and between the Muslims and the *Kuffar*, has been intense ever since the dawn of Islam. When the Messenger of Allah (saw) was sent, the struggle was only an intellectual one, and was not associated with any material struggle. This status quo continued until the Islamic State was established in Madinah, whereupon the army and the authority were established and since then, the Messenger of Allah (saw) combined the material struggle with the intellectual struggle. The verses of *Jihad* were revealed and the struggle went on. It will continue in this way - a bloody struggle alongside the intellectual struggle - until the Hour comes and Allah (swt) inherits the Earth and those on it. This is why *Kufr* is an enemy of Islam, and this is why the Kuffar will be the enemies of the Muslims as long as there is Islam and *Kufr* in this world, Muslims and *Kuffar*, until all are resurrected. This is a decisive and a constant fact. Hence the understanding of it should remain clear to the Muslims at all times throughout the whole of their life, and it should be taken as a criterion to judge the relationships between Islam and *Kufr* and between the Muslims and the *Kuffar*.

The pure intellectual struggle continued for thirteen years. It was the harshest and most ferocious of struggles. Eventually the Islamic thoughts vanquished the *Kufr* thoughts, and Allah (swt) made Islam triumphant. The State that protects the honour of the Muslims and is the shield of Islam and spreads the guidance amongst people by way of *Jihad*, was established in Madinah.

The fiercest and harshest of wars between Islam and *Kufr* and between the Muslim and the *Kuffar* armies broke out in successive battles. Victory in all these wars was to the Muslims. Although the Muslims were defeated in some of the battles, they however always won the war, and they did not lose a war for six centuries, rather remaining victorious in all of their wars during that time. The Islamic State remained the leading nation throughout the whole of that period. Apart from the Muslims, this has never happened to mankind, rather it has been exclusive to the Islamic State. However the disbelievers, especially the European states, had been mindful of Islam, for they wanted to attack it, and they had been mindful of the Muslims, for they wanted to destroy their entity. They attempted to attack or conspire against the Muslims whenever the opportunity arose. Between the end of the sixth century *Hijri* (eleventh century CE) and the beginning of the seventh century *Hijri* (twelfth century CE), the European countries sensed the condition that the ruling system in the Islamic State had reached regarding the fragmentation of the *Wilayahs* (provinces) from the body of the state, and the independence of some *Walis* (governors) in key areas concerning the internal policy such as the armed forces, finance, authority and the like. In fact, they had become more like a federation of states rather than a single united state. The *Khaleefah's* authority had been reduced in some *Wilayahs* to the supplication for him on the pulpits, minting coins bearing his name and sending him an amount of money from the *Kharaj*. The European states had sensed this, hence they dispatched the crusades against the Muslims, and war broke out. The Muslims were defeated in this war and the *Kuffar* captured the whole of *Al-Sham* : Palestine, Lebanon and Syria. They occupied these territories for decades, even keeping some areas such as Tripoli for a hundred years.

Although the battles which took place between the crusaders and the Muslims were continuous throughout the hundred years, and although the Muslims' attempts at recapturing the lands over which the crusaders defeated them did not subside, these wars did however unsettle the Islamic *Ummah*, and they lowered the status of the Islamic State. The Muslims

lost the war and they were defeated by the *Kuffar*. Victory in the war was to the *Kuffar* against the Muslims. Although the victory of *Kufr* against Islam never materialised, neither intellectually nor spiritually, the shame and humiliation which befell the Muslims was beyond imagination. Thus, the era of the crusades, is considered an era of defeat for the Muslims, for despite their victory in the end against the crusaders with their expulsion from *Al-Sham*, they did not pursue the conquests and the wars with the disbelievers. No sooner had the crusades ended, the Mongols arrived, and the massacre of Baghdad took place. This setback was followed by the fall of Damascus at the hands of the Mongols in the same year, (656 AH, 1258 CE). Then came the battle of *Ayn Jaloot* on 3rd September 1260 where the Mongols were destroyed. In the wake of the destruction of the Mongols, the emotions of *Jihad* were aroused in the souls of the Muslims, and they sensed the need for a resumption of carrying the *Da'awah* to the world. Hence, the Muslim conquests of the *Kuffar* began once again, and *Jihad* against the Byzantines was resumed. Battles broke out and successive victories followed. It was around the seventh century of *Hijrah* (the 13th century CE) when the Islamic *Ummah* resumed the conquests. The wars continued and several successive battles took place, and the Muslims always emerged as the victorious, for although the Muslims were beaten in some battles, they used to win the wars and conquer the lands. The Islamic State was the leading nation and she continued to occupy the premier position for four centuries, until the mid 12th century AH (the 18th century CE). Then the industrial revolution in Europe emerged in a remarkable manner that had a profound impact on the states' powers. Muslims stood idle and confused by this revolution, hence the balance of power in the world changed and the Islamic state began her slide from the leading spot gradually, until eventually she became the coveted object of the greedy. Hence, she started evacuating the lands she had conquered and the lands which had been previously under her authority. The disbelieving countries started usurping from her the land of Islam piece by piece, and this marked the start of the ebb and the end of the tide for the Muslims. Since then, the European countries started to

focus upon the removal of the Islamic State from the international scene, and upon the complete removal of Islam from life's affairs and from the relationships between people. In other words, they started thinking about a new campaign of crusades. However unlike the first crusades, the new crusades were to be more than just a military invasion to defeat the Muslims and vanquish the Islamic State. The new crusades were more horrific and had more profound consequences. They were designed to uproot the Islamic State so that no trace of it would be left, and so that not one single root would be able to grow again. They were designed also to uproot Islam from the souls of the Muslims so that nothing could remain except a host of clerical rites and spiritual rituals.

The conspiracies of the European countries against the Islamic State

Despite the differences amongst the *Kuffar* over the division of the Muslims' lands, they were in full agreement of the idea to destroy Islam. They pursued several methods for this purpose. Initially, they aroused the feelings of nationalism and independence in the European countries. They incited people against the Islamic State and they supplied them with weapons and money in order to revolt against it, as was the case in Serbia and Greece. In this way, the European countries tried to stab the Islamic State in the back. France invaded Egypt and occupied it in July 1798, then marched onto Palestine and occupied it. France wanted to occupy the rest of *Al-Sham* in order to deal the Islamic State the fatal blow, but was however defeated, later being forced to leave Egypt and surrender the lands she had occupied back to the Islamic State.

The birth of the Wahhabis and the Saudi rule

Britain had attempted through her agent Abdul-Aziz ibn Muhammad ibn Saud to strike the Islamic State from within. The *Wahhabis* by then had managed to establish an entity within the Islamic State, led by Muhammad ibn Saud and later by his son Abdul-Aziz. Britain supplied them with weapons and money and they moved on a sectarian basis to seize the Islamic lands which were under the authority of the *Khilafah*. They took up arms against the *Khaleefah* and fought the Islamic armed

forces (the army of the *Amir ul-Mu'mineen*), all the time goaded and supplied by the British. The *Wahhabis* wanted to seize the lands ruled by the *Khaleefah* in order to rule these lands according to their *Math'hab* (school of thought), and suppress all the other Islamic *Mathahib* that differed from theirs by force. Hence, they raided Kuwait and occupied it in 1788, then marched northwards until they besieged Baghdad. They wanted to seize Karbalaa' and the tomb of Al-Hussein (may Allah be pleased with him) to destroy it and ban the visiting of it. Then in 1803, they launched an attack on Makkah and occupied it. In the spring of 1804, Madinah fell under their control. They destroyed the huge domes which used to shade the grave of the Messenger of Allah (saw) and stripped them of all the gems and precious ornaments. Having completed their seizure of the whole of Al-Hijaz, they marched on towards Al-Sham. Nearing Hims in 1810 they attacked Damascus for a second time and they also attacked Al-Najaf. Damascus defended itself bravely and gloriously. However while besieging Damascus, the *Wahhabis* moved at the same time to the north and spread their authority over most of the Syrian lands as far as Aleppo. It was a well known fact that this *Wahhabi* campaign was instigated by the British, for Al Saud were British agents. They exploited the *Wahhabi Math'hab*, which was Islamic and whose founder was a *Mujtahid*, in political activities with the aim of fighting the Islamic State and clashing with the other *Mathahib*, in order to incite sectarian wars within the Ottoman state. The followers of this *Math'hab* were unaware of this, but the Saudi *Amir* and the Saudis were fully aware. This is because the relationship was not between the British and Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab, but between the British and Abdul-Aziz ibn Muhammad ibn Saud and then with his son Saud.

Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab, whose *Math'hab* had been *Hanbali*, made *Ijtihad* in a host of matters and deemed that the Muslims who followed other *Mathahib* differed with his opinion in such matters. Hence, he set about calling for his opinions, working towards implementing them and attacking the other Islamic opinions fiercely. He faced a barrage of

opposition and rejection from the various scholars, *Amirs* and prominent figures, who considered that his opinions differed from what they had understood from the Book of Allah and His Messenger. For instance, he used to say that visiting the grave of the Messenger Muhammad (saw) is *Haram* and a sinful act. He even went as far as to say that whoever set off in a journey to visit the grave of the Messenger of Allah (saw), would not be allowed to shorten his prayer while travelling, since the purpose of the journey would be to commit a sinful act. He made reference to the *Hadith* in which the Messenger of Allah (saw) is reported to have said: **"Journeys should only be made to three mosques: This Mosque of mine, the Sacred Mosque and Al-Aqsa Mosque."** Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab understood from this *Hadith* that the Messenger of Allah (saw) had forbidden travelling to other than the three mosques. Hence, if one were to travel to visit the grave of the Messenger of Allah (saw), he would be travelling to other than the three mosques, hence, it would be *Haram*, and a sinful act. Other *Mathahib* deemed the visiting of the grave of the Messenger of Allah (saw) as being *Sunnah* and a *Manduh* action that yields a reward, because the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: **"I had in the past forbidden you from visiting the graves, but you may now visit them."** By greater reason the grave of the Messenger of Allah (saw) should be included in this *Hadith*, in addition to other *Ahadith* which they quoted. They said that the *Hadith* which Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab used as an evidence, was specific to mosques. Therefore, its subject is related to travelling to mosques and does not exceed it. The *Hadith* is not general, but rather specific and related to a certain subject: **"Journeys should only be made to three mosques."** Hence, it would be forbidden for a Muslim to specifically visit the *Aya Sofia* mosque in Istanbul, or the *Ommayyad* mosque in Damascus, because the Messenger of Allah (saw) has confined the travel of mosques to three mosques and no more. It would be forbidden to travel to other than these three mosques. Apart from this, it is permitted to travel on business, to visit family and friends, on sightseeing and tourism amongst other reasons. Hence, the *Hadith* does not categorically forbid travelling and restrict it to these three mosques,

it rather forbids travelling with the intent to visit mosques other than the three mosques it mentioned. Likewise, the followers of other *Mathahib* deemed his opinions as being wrong and contradictory to what they had understood from the Book and the Sunnah. Soon, the difference between him and them intensified and he was banished from the country.

In 1740, he sought refuge with Muhammad ibn Saud, the Sheikh of the tribe of Anzah, who was at odds with the Sheikh of Uyaynah and who lived in Al-Dir'iyyah, which was only six hours away from Uyaynah. Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab was made welcome and was met with hospitality. He started spreading his opinions and thoughts amongst people in Al-Dir'iyyah and the surrounding areas. After a period of time his thoughts and opinions gained some helpers and supporters. *Amir* Muhammad ibn Saud inclined towards these thoughts and opinions and started approaching the Sheikh (Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab).

In 1747, *Amir* Muhammad declared his approval and acceptance of the opinions and thoughts of Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab. He also pledged his support to the Sheikh (Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab) and to these thoughts and opinions. With this alliance the *Wahhabi* movement was established and it came into being in the shape of a *Da'awah* and in the shape of a rule, for Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab used to call for it and teach people its rules, whilst Muhammad ibn Saud used to implement its rules upon the people who were under his command and authority.

The *Wahhabi* movement started to spread to the areas and tribes neighbouring Al-Dir'iyyah in both aspects, the *Da'awah* and the rule. The *Imara* of Muhammad ibn Saud started to spread as well until he succeeded in ten years to make an area of 30 square miles submit to his authority and to the new *Math'hab*. However, it was an expansion achieved through *Da'awah* and the authority of the Sheikh of Anzah. No person challenged him and no person opposed him, even the *Amir* of Al-Ihsaa' who had expelled Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab from Uyaynah did not oppose

his foe in this expansion and he did not amass his troops to fight him until 1757. However, he was defeated, and Muhammad ibn Saud seized his *Imara*. Consequently, the authority of Anzah, represented by the authority of Muhammad ibn Saud and the authority of the new *Math'hab* became the ruling authority of Al-Dir'iyyah and its surroundings, as well as Al-Ihsaa'. In this way the *Wahhabi Math'hab* was implemented over these lands by the force of the authority.

However, in the wake of its clash with the *Amir* of Al-Ihsaa and the conquest of his land, the *Wahhabi* movement stopped there. Little became known of whether it expanded further or carried out any activities. It rather remained confined to that area. Muhammad ibn Saud stopped at that point and the *Wahhabi Math'hab* stopped at the borders of this area and the movement fell into a slumber and stagnated.

In 1765 Muhammad ibn Saud died. He was succeeded to the Sheikhdom of Anzah by his son Abdul-Aziz. His son followed in his fathers footsteps and ruled the area under his control. However, he did not carry out any activities for the movement, nor any expansion into the surrounding areas. Hence, the movement remained asleep and was characterised by stagnation. Hardly anything was heard of this movement and none of its neighbours used to mention it or fear its invasion.

However, 41 years after the start of the *Wahhabi* movement, from 1747 till 1788, and 31 years after its stoppage and the stagnation of its movement, (from 1757 till 1787), its activity suddenly started again. The movement adopted a new method in spreading the *Math'hab* and it became widely and highly publicised beyond its borders and all throughout the Islamic State as well as to the other superpowers. This movement started to cause its neighbours disquiet and concern and even started to cause disquiet and concern to the whole of the Islamic State.

In 1787 Abdul-Aziz moved to establish a house of Imara and adopt a

hereditary system of rule, or what is known as succession to the throne. This entailed that Abdul-Aziz would confirm his son Saud as his successor. A huge crowd led by Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab gathered. This huge crowd of people were addressed by Abdul-Aziz who declared that the right to Imara was confined to his family and the right to succeed him was confined to his sons. He also declared that his son Saud was confirmed as his successor. Hence this huge crowd of people, headed by Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab agreed with him and acknowledged his declarations. A house of *Imara* for a state rather than a tribe or a host of tribes was therefore established. It seemed also that the succession to the head of the *Wahhabi Math'hab* was also confined to the family of Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab. Once the issues of succession to both the *Amir* and the head of the *Math'hab* were settled, the movement suddenly came to life again and resumed its conquests and expansions. It resorted once more to waging war in order to spread the *Math'hab*. In 1788, Abdul-Aziz embarked upon equipping and preparing a huge military raid. He attacked Kuwait, conquering it and seizing it. The British had been trying for their part to seize Kuwait from the Ottoman state but they had failed. This was because other states, such as Germany, Russia and France had opposed them, and because the *Khilafah* State itself resisted them. Hence, the severance of Kuwait from the Ottoman state and the advance towards the north for its protection was sufficient to catch the imagination of the major states such as Russia, Germany and France, as well as the Ottoman State. Furthermore, the characteristics of this war which was a sectarian one, used to arouse the spiritual emotions.

In this way, the *Wahhabis* resumed their activities suddenly, and after a lull that had lasted for several decades. They resumed this activity with a new method, which was to spread the *Math'hab* through war and conquest in order to remove the features of all the other *Mathahib* from existence, and replace them by their *Math'hab*. They began their activities by attacking Kuwait and seizing it. Then they followed this activity with several attempts at expansion. Accordingly they became a cause of concern and a nuisance

to their neighbours within the Arabian peninsula - Iraq, *Al-Sham*, and the Ottoman state in its capacity as the *Khilafah* State. They brandished the sword to fight the Muslims and to force them to abandon what they carried in terms of opinions alien to the *Wahhabi Math'hab*, and to adopt the opinions of the *Wahhabi Math'hab*. They fought the *Khaleefah* and conquered the Islamic lands. Then in 1792, Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab died and his son succeeded him in his post just as Saud succeeded his father Abdul-Aziz. The Saudi *Amirs* then proceeded in this course, adopting the *Wahhabi Math'hab* as a political tool to strike the Ottoman state (the *Khilafah* State), and to incite sectarian wars between Muslims.

The British conspiracy against the Islamic State

The brokerage and loyalty of Al Saud to the British was a well known matter to the *Khilafah* state and to the major powers such as Germany, France and Russia. It was also known that they were steered by the British. The British themselves never used to conceal the fact that they supported the Saudis as a state. Furthermore, the huge arsenals and equipment which reached them via India and the finance to cover the war effort and to equip the armed forces were but British weapons and money. Therefore, the other European countries, especially France, were opposed to the *Wahhabi* campaign for it was considered a British campaign. The *Khilafah* State had tried to strike the *Wahhabis* but to no avail, and her *Walis* in Madinah and Baghdad were unable to curb them. As a result she instructed her *Wali* in Egypt Muhammad Ali, to dispatch a task force to deal with them. He hesitated at first. Indeed he was a French agent, and it was France who had helped him stage the coup in Egypt and seize power, then forced the *Khilafah* to recognise him. So on the basis of France's agreement and incitement, Muhammad Ali responded to the Sultan's demands in 1811 and dispatched his son Tosson to fight the *Wahhabis*. Several battles took place between the Egyptian army and the *Wahhabis*, and the Egyptian army managed to conquer Madinah in 1812. Then in

1816, Muhammad Ali sent his son Ibrahim from Cairo, who crushed the *Wahhabis* until they retreated to their capital, Al-Dir'iyyah and fortified themselves there. Thereafter, Ibrahim besieged them in April 1818. The siege continued all throughout the summer until 9th September 1818 when the *Wahhabis* capitulated. The armies of Ibrahim destroyed Al-Dir'iyyah and razed it completely. It was said that he ploughed it so that no trace of it was left. This marked the end of the British campaign.

France's attempt at hitting the Islamic State

France then attempted to strike the Islamic State from the back through her agent Muhammad Ali, the Wali of Egypt. France openly supported him internationally and politically, and he broke away from the *Khaleefah* and declared war against it. He marched towards *Al-Sham* in 1831 with the aim of conquering it. He occupied Palestine, Lebanon and Syria and started to infiltrate Anatolia. However, the *Khaleefah* dispatched a strong army to fight him. Britain, Russia and two of the German states turned against Muhammad Ali. In July 1840, Britain, Russia and two German states held what became known as the "Quadrilateral Alliance", according to which these states would undertake to defend the unity of the Ottoman State and to oblige Muhammad Ali, by force if necessary, to surrender Syria. This stand taken by the European countries turned the international situation in favour of the *Khaleefah*. It helped to resist Muhammad Ali and drive him out of Syria, Palestine and Lebanon. Muhammad Ali returned to Egypt whereupon he accepted to be a *Wali* under the authority of the *Khaleefah*.

Arousing the nationalist chauvinism and the separatist tendencies

The attempts of the European countries, especially Britain, France and Russia to remove the *Khilafah* State from existence continued. However, their attempts were mainly focused at striking the State from the back, through organised wars, armies and battles - but these failed. This failure was not exclusively due to the defensive capabilities of the *Khaleefah*, but primarily due to the international situation and due to differences over the sharing of spoils amongst these states.

As for the attempts undertaken in Europe by the European states, mainly in Serbia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece and others, these were successful because the European countries proceeded by inciting nationalist chauvinism and separatist tendencies which they called 'independence'. Thus, the European countries adopted this style (inciting nationalist chauvinism and separatist tendencies) all over the lands that were shaded by the banner of Islam and ruled by the *Khaleefah* of the Muslims. They specifically focused their work on the Arabs and the Turks. The British and French embassies in Istanbul, and those in the main areas of the Islamic lands started this incitement. Their work was notable mostly in Baghdad, Damascus, Beirut, Cairo and Jeddah. Two main centres were established to carry out this mission, Istanbul, to strike the state in her main centre, and Beirut, in order to strike her in the provinces, especially in the countries inhabited by Arabic speaking Muslims.

The role of the Beirut Centre in working against the Khilafah

As for the Beirut centre, it was set up as a centre of *Kufr* to hit Islam and the Islamic State, and its plan was designed to work on a long term basis which would yield far reaching results. As for the Istanbul centre, a short term plan was designed for it, so that it yielded quick results, but also with far reaching consequences. Hence, the Beirut centre was used as a deadly poison, which converted thousands of Muslim sons into *Kuffar*, and transformed the Islamic relations in general to relations conducted according to the *Kufr* rules. Indeed, the centre's effect in hitting the Islamic State during her clash with the *Kuffar* in the First world war was devastating.

The Western *Kuffar* started their political activities in Beirut immediately after Ibrahim Pasha's withdrawal from *Al-Sham*. In 1842, a committee was formed with the aim of establishing a scientific association under the auspices of the American Mission and according to its programme. The committee proceeded according to its programme for five years, until it managed in 1847 to establish an association known as "The Science and Arts Association". This association was run by two Christian collaborators, who were known as the most dangerous of British collaborators. They were Butros Al-Bustani and Naseef Al-Yaziji, backed by Colonel Churchill from among the British and Eli Smith and Cornilos Van Dick. The goals of the association were at first vague, it however gave the impression that it aimed at spreading the various sciences among adults, just as schools would do with children, and at motivating adults, just like children would be motivated, into being cultured with the western culture, given the western thoughts and steered towards a specific direction. However, despite the activity of the association's workers and their huge efforts, over a period of two years only fifty active members in the whole of *Al-Sham* joined. They were all Christians and most of them were from Beirut. No one from amongst the Muslims joined the association.

Hence, another association was established in 1850 under the name of the "Eastern Association". It was established by the Jesuits, under the tutelage of the French Jesuit father Henri Debrenier, and all its members were Christians.

In 1857 yet another association was established. This association however adopted a new style and made its membership exclusive to Arabs and no foreigners were allowed to join; the founders were also Arabs. Hence, it managed to persuade some Muslims and some of the Druze to join in their capacity as Arabs. A large number joined and they reached 150 members. Among its administration board were some prominent personalities such as Muhammad Arsalan from the Druze, Hussein Bayham from the Muslims and Ibrahim Al-Yaziji and the son of Butros Al-Bustani from the Christians. The latter two were the ones who adopted the idea and endeavoured to work towards it. The success of the association encouraged the *Kuffar* to adopt a direct approach in inciting nationalist chauvinism and tendencies towards independence, without having to resort to the ploy of spreading science, and to work in an open manner, not through intrigue and deceit.

In 1875, the "Secret Association" was established in Beirut by five young men from among those who graduated from the Protestant College in Beirut. They were all Christians and they managed to gather a small number of people. The association set about concentrating itself on the basis of a political idea. It was established as a political party and built on the basis of Arab nationalism. This association is considered to have been the first political party to be established in the Islamic lands on the basis of Arab nationalism. The association used to call for the Arabs, Arabism and nationalism. It used to incite hatred against the Ottoman State and called it the "Turkish" state. It worked towards separating the *Deen* from the state, establishing Arab nationalism as a basis for unity and shifting the Muslims' loyalty from the Islamic *Aqeedah* towards being exclusively for Arab nationalism. It used to publish leaflets and distribute them in secret.

Some of its leaflets used to accuse Turkey -according to them - of usurping the *Khilafah* from the Arabs, violating the noble Islamic *Shari'ah* and abusing the *Deen*, despite the fact that those who supervised and ran the association's affairs were all Christians who nurtured hatred against Islam. The nationalist movements started to spread thereon and nationalist chauvinism began to be propagated. However, the activities of the European countries at the Beirut centre were designed to recruit spies and carry out activities aimed at destroying the thoughts and the souls. Hence the political status of this association was backward, although its effects were intellectually devastating.

The role of the Istanbul centre in working towards hitting the Khilafah State

This was as far as the Beirut centre was concerned. As for the Istanbul centre, it was used by the Western *Kuffar* to strike the Islamic State in the capital and to strike at the state's officials. The *Kuffar* had undertaken several actions, the most important and the most devastating of which was the establishment of the "Young Turks", whose alias was "Union & Progress". The Committee had been established at first in Paris by Turkish youth who had been saturated by French thoughts and deeply cultured about the French revolution. It was established as a secret revolutionary Committee. The leader of this revolutionary group was Ahmed Redha Beik. He was a prominent personality among people and his idea was to import the Western culture to his home country of Turkey. The Committee established other branches in Berlin, Slanik and Istanbul.

The Paris centre was meticulously organised, its programme was radical and the means of publicity it relied upon were solid. It published a newsletter entitled "The News". It used to be smuggled into Istanbul along with the European mail and was taken by a group of Turks who promised to distribute it secretly. The association also published political

leaflets which were smuggled in the same manner. As for the Berlin branch, this was formed by moderates, former ministers of state, former high ranking officials and skilful politicians. They used to call for reform and the organising of the state's affairs according to the German ruling system. They suggested uniting the many groups of people from whom the Ottoman empire was formed, and establishing amongst them something akin to the German federation.

As for the Slanik branch, the overwhelming majority of its members were from among educated officers who had a strong influence within the army. They used to prepare for the revolution. Some of the Sheikhs had joined them, increasing their strength further. They were also joined by some junior officials, such as Tal'at, who later became prime minister. However, they were governed and controlled by the Paris centre and they never violated its opinion. The Paris centre used to guide them with full dedication towards western opinions and theories and arouse within them inclinations towards struggle.

The Masonic lodges, especially the greater Italian lodge in Slanik, used to welcome the activities of this association and championed their cause from a literal viewpoint. Meetings used to take place in the chambers of the Masonic lodges, where it was impossible for spies to gain access no matter how hard they tried. Many members of these lodges were affiliated to the Union & Progress. The Committee managed through this means to increase its members and strengthen its influence, thanks to the aid it was receiving. Furthermore, the members of "Union & Progress" used to benefit from Masonic styles in establishing a liaison with Istanbul and even get closer to the Palace itself.

The "Young Turk" or "Committee of Union & Progress" quickly started to hold secret meetings and prepare for the revolution. It followed this trend up until 1908, when it staged a coup and seized power. It's strength became manifest and Europe expressed its approval of the Committee.

In the autumn of 1908, and shortly before the opening of parliament, the members of the Slanik branch held a conference. This was regarded as its first muscle flexing exercise. The leader of the party at the time was its Parisian founder Ahmed Redha Beik. He delivered a speech to the delegates in which he expressed his happiness and boasted about the success of the party. He also confirmed that the European kingdoms themselves had expressed goodwill towards the nationalist movement and expressed their satisfaction about the country's status quo.

At that time, in the autumn of 1908, Britain appointed a new ambassador to Istanbul called Gerald Luther. When he reached Istanbul, a group from the Union & Progress Committee greeted him very warmly, to the point that they took the horses off from his chariot and pulled the chariot themselves. All this was inspired by the Union & Progress Committee and from its own initiative. The fascination of the Committee's men with the embellished Western thoughts reached a point where they were no longer aware of the contradiction of these thoughts to the reality of the state they were governing, in addition to their failure to perceive their contradiction to Islam. The extent of their recklessness and lack of vision drew the attention of the Europeans to their ignorance, until one of the diplomats working in Istanbul at the time said about them: "They often take the second step before the first." The activists of Union & Progress rushed into handing the reins of government to those familiar with Western laws and Western thoughts, and they eventually gained the upper hand within the Young Turk party.

When they realised that controlling the army leads to controlling the whole power, they endeavoured to make the new appointments based on a party policy. Hence, all the officers became party members rather than experts or military men. They also introduced legislation stating that by law, every citizen of the Ottoman State is entitled to the same rights enjoyed by the Turks and should fulfil the same obligations.

This Committee gained total control of the whole State, its present and its future. Hence the idea which the West had adopted to hit the State and destroy the *Khilafah* came to fruition. This idea came to power through the members of the ruling party and its supporters who not only deemed that Islam was unsuitable for this era, they rather deemed that suitability as whole, lay in Western thoughts and the Western culture. They also deemed the preservation of Turkish nationalism to be amongst their main activities as a party, to the point where their loyalty to Turkish nationalism came above any other loyalty. Hence, they boasted about it and devoted their attention to it, to the extent that they considered Turkey to be better than the rest of the Islamic countries and the Turk to be better than the rest of the Muslims.

Therefore, the founding of the Young Turks or the Union & Progress party was one of the most horrific acts perpetrated by the West in its drive to hit the Islamic State and Islam. The results of such a move were swift, for no sooner had the party seized the reins of power than the pickaxe of destruction started to work on the body of the State and to dig between its subjects a ditch over which a bridge could not be arched. This is so because nationalism is the most harmful thing that divides people and generates amongst them animosity, hatred and war. Although affiliation to the Committee was open to all citizens of the state, it was the nationalist policy of the unionists within the state that evoked the nationalist idea in the Ottoman elements. Hence, the Albanians in Astana founded their own Committee, soon to be followed by the Circassians and the Kurds. The Romans and the Armenians had established in the past secret organised Committees, thus they were made legal.

The Arabs for their part established the Committee of "Arab-Ottoman Brotherhood" in Astana and they opened the Committee's club under the same name. However, the Union & Progress Committee was chauvinist, especially towards the Arabs, for they allowed all the nationalities to establish ethnic groups, but they started at the same time opposing any Arab

Committees. So, they dissolved the Arab Committee and shut down its club by government decree. They also pursued a policy of ethnic discrimination within the armed forces. They summoned all the Arab officers from their respective lands to Istanbul and prevented them from joining the Officers' academic mission to Germany. They decided to prevent the Arab members of the Union & Progress from joining the "Central Committee" of this Committee. This Committee had been open to all the citizens of the Ottoman State, with no discrimination between a Turk, an Arab, an Albanian or a Circassian. However, when this party seized power and since the Turks enjoyed most of the influence, they acted in this despotic manner by excluding the Arabs within this Committee from the sensitive posts. They also embarked upon turning the Committee into an exclusively Turkish Committee. This was followed by numerous measures implemented in certain government departments, such as stripping the ministry of Awqaf from the Arab minister and handing it to a Turkish minister, and such as the deliberate appointment of Turks to the posts of foreign affairs and home affairs ministries. Also the deliberate posting of Turkish Walis to the Arab provinces, chosen from among people who could not speak Arabic.

Then they crowned this by adopting the Turkish language as the official language, to the point where they started teaching Arabic grammar and inflection in Turkish. Their contempt for the Arabic language was such that the ambassador of the Ottoman State to Washington published a communiqué in 1909 in which he prohibited the Ottomans living in America from addressing the embassy in other than the Turkish language, despite his full knowledge that the State's subjects in America were no less than half a million and none of them could speak Turkish.

This racism between Arabs and Turks became conspicuously rampant amongst the armed forces. The Turkish officers affiliated to Union & Progress used to display this racism in their conduct and when it came to promotions and to assuming the high ranking military posts. The Arab

officers expressed their anger but never doubted their obligation to remain loyal to the State, for the point at issue was not an issue of union between Arabs and Turks, it was rather an issue of one Islamic *Ummah*, and a *Khaleefah* in Istanbul whose obedience Allah (swt) commanded and whose disobedience He (swt) prohibited; the Muslim is a brother to another Muslim, he does not demean him or wrong him. Therefore, some of the Arab officers were affected by this status quo, and at the end of 1909, they requested a meeting with influential figures within the Committee of Union & Progress. The latter accepted and they held a lengthy meeting in Istanbul. They discussed the measures which they had to take in order to settle this dispute between Arabs and Turks once and for all. The meeting was on the verge of restoring the unity, discarding racism and rallying around the Islamic *Aqeedah* alone, but some of the Turkish youth, to whom Turkish nationalism took precedence to the Islamic *Aqeedah*, such as Ahmed Agha Beik and Yusuf Aqshurah Beik among others, found it too painful to relinquish their nationalism and devote their loyalty to Islam alone. Hence, they intervened and lashed out at the Arabs with harsh words and glorified the Turks. As a result, the meeting ended with the situation becoming worse than it had been before it started.

The Committee continued to pursue its policy of racism and when the Turks gained the upper hand, they embarked upon changing the programme of the Committee so as to turn it into an exclusively Turkish affair. This amendment triggered the resignation of all the Arabs, the Albanians and the Armenians as well as the Turks to whom the Islamic *Aqeedah* rather than their nationality remained the basis.

The role of the European embassies in establishing the Arab Committees and parties

In the wake of these events, the European embassies became active in their contacts with the Arabs. Hence, they established the "Decentralisation

Party", with Cairo as its centre and Rafiq Al-Athim as its president. They also established the "Reform Committee" in Beirut and the "Literal Forum" among others. The British and the French infiltrated the ranks of the Arabs who had carried the nationalist tendency and opened for them the coffers of their countries. So on 18th June 1913 and under the auspices of the French, the Arab youth held a conference in Paris, and this represented the Arab nationalists' first declaration of alignment towards Britain and France against their Ottoman State.

When the Union & Progress men sensed this, they established the "Turk Ojaghi Committee" meaning the Turkish family. Its objective was to wipe out Islam and turn the Ottoman elements into Turkish ones. Then they started encouraging the publication of atheistic books and journals, such as the book written by the famous Turkish author Jalal Nouri Beik under the title of "The history of the future", in which he wrote: "It is in the interest of the Astana government to coerce the Syrians to leave their homelands. Arab lands, especially Iraq and Yemen, must be turned into Turkish colonies, in order to spread the Turkish language which must be the language of the *Deen*. In order to protect our entity, it is imperative for us to turn all the Arab countries into Turkish countries, because the new Arab generation has started to sense a racial chauvinism and it is threatening us with a major calamity against which we should take precautions as of now." Thus, the nationalist tendency and the patriotic chauvinism made an impact on the souls, and loyalty to Islam shifted to be replaced by loyalty to nationalism and patriotism. This led to resisting all that Islam carries in terms of what could be regarded as a threat to patriotism and nationalism. The criterion of those who assumed power within the state was that of nationalism and patriotism rather than Islam, even when it came to calling for the unity of the ranks between Arabs and Turks.

Furthermore, when Jamal Pasha was in Syria, he witnessed the Arab youth perpetrating treason against the State by acting on the guidance of France

and the orders of Britain. He became absoloutly certain of this when he seized documents found in the French consulate in Damascus. He wanted to win the Arabs over in order to maintain unity among the citizens of the State. Hence, he invited the Arab leaders to a gathering held in Damascus and delivered a speech in which he exhorted them to unity. Some of what he said in his speech was the following: "And you have to trust the fact that the Turkish Committee, which you have witnessed in Astana and in the other parts inhabited by Turkish elements, does not clash in any way with the Arab aspirations. You do know beyond any doubt that the Ottoman empire has witnessed the establishment of Bulgarian, Greek and Armenian movements, and now there exists an Arab movement. The Turks had totally forgotten their existence to the point where they feared to even mention their people. The patriotic spirit had completely died to the point where it was feared that the Turkish people were about to completely disintegrate. Therefore, it was with the aim of quelling this imminent threat that the men of the Young Turks rose with a zeal that deserves admiration. Hence, they took up arms and embarked upon teaching the Turks the patriotic spirit." He added : "Today, I find myself capable of confirming to you that the Turkish aspirations do not in any way clash with the Arab aspirations, for the Turks and the Arabs are but brothers in their patriotic objectives." He also added : "And briefly, the utmost aspirations of that party, the party of Young Turks (Union & Progress) are to gain for the Turkish people the respect of all the peoples of the world, and to establish its right to exist alongside the peoples of the twentieth century."

It was with these words that Jamal Pasha wanted to unite the Muslims under the banner of the Islamic *Khilafah* and to foil the endeavours undertaken by the Arabs to break away from the Turks, namely from the *Khilafah* and to seek the help of the British and the French *Kuffar*.

It is correct to say that Jamal Pasha was right in hanging the traitors who had been collaborating with France and Britain against the *Khilafah*, for

they were either *Kuffar* or Muslim apostates for believing in the unsuitability of Islam. He was also right in striking every traitor and every individual who worked against the *Khilafah*, even if he himself was working for patriotism, let alone if this individual was working against the *Khilafah* with the *Kuffar* and under their command. However, Jamal Pasha and the party of the Young Turks, namely Union & Progress, deserved to be punished and imprisoned for nursing the patriotic idea. This soothing speech he delivered was wrong and patriotic separatism should not be dealt with in this manner to say the least, for the speech in fact indicates the presence of corrupt doctrines, and a disregard for Islam as being the only bond that gathers the citizens of the State and as being the only ideology upon which the *Khilafah* is built.

The words he should have uttered, which would have been considered decisive and final, and it is forbidden to say otherwise, is that all of us should give our loyalty to the Islamic *Aqeedah* alone. It is forbidden to have loyalty to anything else. This *Aqeedah* should alone be the criterion for our actions. However, instead of saying this he calmed the Arabic speaking Muslims by saying : "The Arab aspirations and the Turkish aspirations do not clash with one another", and by saying : "The Turks and the Arabs are but brothers in their patriotic objectives", and also by saying : "The utmost aspirations of that party, the party of Young Turks, is to gain for the Turkish people the respect of all the peoples of the world and to establish its right to exist alongside the peoples of the twentieth century," namely with the British, the French, the Italians and the Greeks, in other words with the Kuffar.

The missionary and the cultural invasions

Therefore, the styles of evoking the nationalist tendency and patriotic chauvinism in the capital of the *Khilafah* bore fruit and the European countries, especially Britain and France, achieved a great success in dealing the Islamic State a horrific and devastating blow. However, the European countries and Britain in particular did not restrict themselves to this style, despite its wickedness and its horrific results. For since the 16th century they adopted another style against Islam. This was due to the animosity simmering in their souls and the grudge eroding their hearts against Islam and against the thoughts and rules of Islam. Hence, alongside this style, they used to proceed with another style to hit the Islamic *Aqa'id* (doctrines) and the Islamic legislation. Istanbul and Beirut were the two main centres taken up by the *Kuffar* as their base and they also attempted to turn Cairo into another centre.

As for the Beirut centre, the plan designed for it was meant to have a long term effect by graduating the youth who would be hostile to Islam and by affecting the thoughts of the common Muslims. They proceeded with this plan by way of missionary invasion and cultural invasion under the guise of science and they dedicated for this huge expenditures. Hence, they established missionary Committees, most of which were British, French and American Committees. They also proceeded with the cultural invasion via the missions and the missionaries in order to win over the Christian citizens to their side and to raise the doubts of the Muslims about their *Deen* and to shake their *Aqeedah*.

The role of the Maltese centre in the missionary invasion

The disbelievers established at the end of the century a large missionary centre in Malta which they used as a base for their missionary and cultural invasion of the Islamic lands. It is from there that missionary forces used to be despatched. They settled in Malta for a while but soon they sensed the need to expand their activity. Hence they moved to *Al-Sham* in 1625 and attempted to establish missionary movements. However, their activity was limited and did not extend beyond establishing a few small schools and publishing some religious books. They endured a great deal of suffering, ranging from persecution, rejection and hostility from everyone, both Muslims and Christians. However, they persevered until 1773, whereafter the missionary Committees of the Jesuits were abolished and their institutions shut down, except for some of the weaker missionary Committees such as the Committee of the "Azariyyin" missionaries.

The spread of the missionary expeditions in Al-Sham

Despite the presence of the missionary Committees, the effect of the missionaries withered and their activity was confined to Malta. However, in 1820, they renewed their activity and they established the first missionary centre in Beirut. Their main attention was devoted to religious missionary work and religious culture, and their concern with education was partial. In 1834, the missionary expeditions spread throughout the whole of *Al-Sham*. This was due to the encouragement of Ibrahim Pasha, his opening of the area widely before the missionaries, his sympathy towards them and his support for them under the influence and the instructions of the French. By that time he had occupied *Al-Sham* : Palestine, Lebanon and Syria. Hence, the missionaries were warmly greeted and welcomed by the government of Ibrahim Pasha and consequently their activity intensified. Consequently, a college was opened in the village of Ainturah in Lebanon and the American mission transferred its press to Beirut in order to print

and publish books. The infamous American missionary Eli Smith became remarkably active. He had been working in Malta as a volunteer and used to supervise the mission's press. He came to Beirut in 1827 but became terrified of the Muslims and weary of the lack of productivity. He went to Malta when he could no longer bear it. He then returned to Beirut in 1834 when it came under French influence thanks to Muhammad Ali and his son Ibrahim. The missionary and his wife opened a female school, then his scope widened. Hence he dedicated his life to working in Beirut in particular and in *Al-Sham* in general. In this way, all these efforts helped to kick-start the missionary movement.

The initiative undertaken by Ibrahim Pasha to implement the education curriculum in Syria and which was already applied in Egypt, had been adopted from the French education curriculum. This served as an opportunity for those missionaries, to contribute to the educational movement from a missionary viewpoint, according to what the *Kuffar* had planned. It then widened to include the press movement. Hence, the missionary movement became active and participated in the educational movement in a conspicuous manner.

Inciting strife among the population of Al-Sham

When Ibrahim Pasha withdrew from *Al-Sham* in 1840 unrest, chaos and disturbance spread in *Al-Sham* and the Western emissaries, especially the missionaries took advantage of the Ottoman State's lack of influence to flare up strife among the population. Hence, the massacres of 1860 took place. In the wake of these massacres, the Western countries intervened and dispatched their warships to the coasts of *Al-Sham.* France disembarked a land force in Beirut and this increased the influence of the missionaries and strengthened their hand. The French became active in establishing schools and colleges and the Jesuits opened their schools and colleges, among which were the Jesuit College known as the "St Joseph

Jesuit University" and in 1866, the Americans opened the Protestant College known today as the American University of Beirut. This university is considered to be the most horrific *Kufr* institution in the Islamic lands, for it has launched the fiercest campaigns against the Islamic thoughts and against the Muslims and has managed to shift the allegiance of thousands of Muslim youth towards the *Kufr* thoughts.

The attention given to missionary and cultural invasions was not solely confined to America, France and Britain - it rather engulfed most of the disbelieving countries, such as Tsarist Russia, who dispatched a host of missionary expeditions. A Prussian expedition also arrived in the country, being formed of Karodt nuns who played their part alongside the other missionary expeditions in combating Islam. Despite the difference in political viewpoints amongst the missionary expeditions and the other Western emissaries, as far as their political approach and their interests were concerned, they were of one accord about the objective.This was to inspire the Western culture in the east, establish the *Aqeedah* of separating the *Deen* from the state as an *Aqeedah* for the Muslims, arouse in the Muslims suspicions about their *Deen*, and to incite them to resent and to scorn their history and to glorify the West and its culture. All of this was with deep hatred and disdain for Islam and Muslims.

In addition to the schools and colleges, they established a movement aimed at steering people towards the Arabic language, in order to lead them away from Islam by it, and towards what they called Arabism. The banner of this movement was carried by the Christians, despite their lack of understanding of the Arabic language, due to their inability to appreciate the eloquence of the Qur'an. Hence the Maronites, most of whom were in the service of the missionary expeditions, used to discuss the revival of the old literature and the restoration of the old characteristics of the classical Arabic language. Among those were Nasif Al-Yaziji and Father Louis Sheikho. Thus, the Maronites headed the campaign for Arab nationalism and encouraged people to adopt it. They also headed the

campaign for the Arabic language and encouraged people to confine their attention to it. In addition to this, books and publications carrying Western thoughts started to emerge and a strong wave towards Arabs and Arabism and towards the Arabic language swept the area, coupled by an increased shunning of Islam and the thoughts of Islam. Hence, the Beirut centre dealt a blow to :

the *Aqa'id* (doctrines) of Islam,
the thoughts of Islam and
managed to steer people towards the West.

This centre achieved disastrous results which had a major effect in the removal of Islam from relationships, transactions, in various aspects of life and ultimately in the destruction of the Islamic State.

The attempt at introducing the Western constitutional rules

As for the Istanbul Centre, the Western countries were not only satisfied with corrupting the Muslims' children at universities and schools and through propaganda. They also focused on the State itself with the aim of changing the ruling system and the *Shari'ah* rules, by removing them and replacing them with Western laws. They pursued several styles to achieve this. In 1839, Abdul-Majid 1st acceded to the position of *Khaleefah* and he was only 16 years old, while Rashid Pasha was ambassador for the Ottoman State in London. He rushed back to Istanbul and was appointed foreign minister. He had no sooner taken up his post than he started campaigning for the parliamentarian constitutional ruling system. He also declared that he was determined to raise the Ottoman State to the level of a developed state through a constitution that would endorse the rights of the citizens, and he also declared the abolishment of the most prominent shortcomings within the State. Rashid Pasha managed easily to secure the backing of the young Sultan for his scheme, and the document of the constitution was prepared in total secrecy.

On 3rd November 1839, all the leading personalities of the Sublime Porte, representatives of the residents of Istanbul, representatives of the State's subjects in Europe and members of the diplomatic corps were invited to the stand situated on the southern side of the government house along the Marmara Sea to listen to a recitation of the "Honourable Script" known as "Kalkhanah". The constitutional document was read

to them. It contained a host of European rules with an attempt at giving some consideration to Islam. This was the first attempt at introducing the Western constitutional laws into the State's system. However, this document remained mere ink on paper and was not implemented. However in 1855 the European states, particularly Britain, pressed the Ottoman State to carry out constitutional reforms. Under pressure from these states, the Sultan issued on 1st February a bill of reforms. This bill became known as the "Hemayun Script" . The Sultan endorsed in this bill all the rights granted to the subjects in the "Honourable Script" known as "Kalkhanah".

A host of specific rights were designed for the Christians, such as referring the administration of civic matters to a Select Committee made up of civilians, clerics and others directly elected by the people, the non-coercing of the Muslim who embraces Christianity into returning to Islam, rather allowing him to reject Islam and embrace the Christian faith. The military service was to be made compulsory upon the Christians as it is compulsory upon the Muslims, whereas before, it had been exclusively compulsory upon the Muslims, and also allowing foreigners the ownership of lands in the Ottoman State.

This bill prompted a negative reaction from the citizens, for the Muslims deemed it contradictory to *Shari'ah*, while the Christians were apprehensive about its implementation. Nevertheless, the European states pursued it under the pretext of reform. However, with the State being Islamic, the *Khulafa'* could not embark upon implementing these constitutional laws. This was the case until the name of Midhat Pasha became prominent within the government circles. He was saturated with Western thoughts and seduced by Western culture. Hence, he decided to establish a constitution for the country that agreed with the Western thoughts in order to please the Western states and to allow the State to proceed on the same level as the Western states.

Midhat Pasha's attempt at drafting a constitution for the State from the Western systems

Midhat Pasha was at the time minister of justice in Muhammad Rushdie Pasha's government, during the *Khilafah* of Abdul-Aziz. He endeavoured to persuade Abdul-Aziz to draft a constitution from the Western democratic systems. So he wrote to him and urged him to redress the status quo of the State by establishing a constitution for it. Some of what he wrote in that letter, once he had given an account of the State's corruption, was the following :

"...your excellency is well aware that the effective cure for this ailment will be to uproot its causes which we know too well. If the causes were removed, the ailment would be removed. Hence, if you were to issue a new "Hamayunian Script" in which you imposed the adherence to the laws and systems, the equality between rich and poor, and elderly and young in the eyes of the law; if you were to return the charitable institutions to their rightful owners and to spend the money on what the donors had pledged them for; if you were to hand the State's authority back to the Sublime Porte (the government), so that it could adopt its resolutions and then submit them to your excellency; if you did not monopolise the State's financial and proprietary rights and if the Treasury were not to spend a single piaster without the Sublime Porte's consent; if the duties of the senior and junior civil servants were outlined and if the ministers were held liable for the consequences of their actions, and if this were to be implemented upon your relatives and private staff; if all of this were implemented, the desired result would be achieved with the help of Allah (swt) and the State would reach the path which your excellency desires."

Prior to submitting the letter to the *Khaleefah*, Midhat Pasha tabled it to the government and they approved of it. They also agreed that the president should submit the letter to Sultan Abdul-Aziz. He duly met him and handed him the letter. Upon reading the letter, Abdul-Aziz became furious

and issued his instructions to immediately dismiss Midhat Pasha from government and alienate him by appointing him *Wali* over Salonika. However, he did not stay there for long and he soon returned to Istanbul. He agreed with Hussein Awni Pasha, Secretary of the State Police, to remove Abdul-Aziz. They then contacted the Navy Chief and *Sheikh-ul-Islam*. The four agreed on the removal of the Sultan. They set a date for this and this was in the early months of 1876. On the eve of that date, Midhat Pasha sent an anonymous memorandum to the European states, except Russia, in which he declared that the removal of the Sultan had become an inevitable matter according to the Islamic *Shari'ah* which decrees that the Head of State should be of a fully sound mind.

On the eve of 30th May 1876, the navy disembarked before the government house Dumulah Baghjah and the armed forces gathered and surrounded the Palace. The Sultan was told of his removal and the *Fatwa* of his removal issued by *Sheikh-ul-Islam* was read to him. He was taken away from the Saray (government House) and on the same night, Murad 5th acceded to the throne.

In this way Midhat Pasha ousted the *Khaleefah* with the collaboration of the European states, especially Britain, Germany and France, except Russia, because he refused to establish a constitution for the Islamic State, derived from the Western democratic systems.

It was thought that the appointment of Murad 5th as a *Khaleefah* for the Muslims, after the removal of Abdul-Aziz, would lead to the establishment of a constitution based on the Western systems, for Murad had been brought up in a Western fashion and he was known to be an enlightened man. Hence, the hope to establish and implement the constitution rested on him. However, his health had deteriorated due to his mental instability. Notwithstanding this, Midhat Pasha was attempting to declare the constitution. He used to meet with his aides during the illness of Murad, study the laws and systems of Europe and draft the constitution until it

was finalised. However, the mental state of Murad became known to all and sundry and his removal became inevitable. Accordingly *Sheikh-ul-Islam* duly declared his removal on 31st August 1876.

On 1st September his brother Abdul-Hamid acceded to the throne and became *Khaleefah* of the Muslims. A short while later Midhat Pasha resumed the post of Grand Vizier whereupon, Britain called for a conference in Istanbul gathering the ambassadors of the major powers, with the aim of consolidating peace in the Balkans through the introduction of a host of new proposals. The conference was held and the Ottoman State was pressed into carrying out the reforms, and accordingly Midhat Pasha embarked upon carrying out the domestic reforms. He established a committee formed of 16 civil servants, 10 scholars and two high ranking army officers. He assigned to this committee the task of drafting a constitution for the State. After some extreme difficulties, the committee finally approved of a draft constitution which was inspired by the Belgian constitution. It was promulgated under the title of *Qanun Assas* (Basic Law) on 23rd December. Hence, a Belgian constitution, with consideration given to some Islamic aspects, became the official constitution of the Islamic State.

Among the matters stipulated by this constitution was to address all the citizens of the State as Ottomans and to recognise their personal freedom. Instead of Islam being the constitution of the State, as was the case up until then, the constitution stipulated that Islam was the *Deen* of the State, meaning that the State's public holidays and other related matters would be considered from an Islamic viewpoint. The constitution also stated that a popular representation would be established through two assemblies, one for the deputies known as The Council of Deputies, and the other for the senators known as The Senate, with members of both houses enjoying parliamentarian immunity. They would not be subjected to the State's laws nor the *Shari'ah* rules until such immunity was waived. It also stipulated that the two assemblies should convene on the 1st November

of each year, that they should be inaugurated by the throne's speech, and that the laws proposed by the two assemblies should be implemented once each assembly had endorsed them and once the Sultan had ratified them. In other words, legislation would be carried out by the two assemblies. Further, it stipulated that the drawing up of the budget should be referred to the Deputies Council and that a Supreme Court formed of ten members from the Senate, ten government consultants and ten consultants from the Appeal Court should be established. It stipulated that the rule in the *Wilayas* should be based on decentralisation.

Abdul-Hamid's opposition to Midhat's constitution

Since this constitution was considered a democratic system, it was composed of *Kufr* laws which contradicted Islam. Accordingly as the rules themselves contradicted Islam, had they been implemented, their implementation would have implied the abolishment of the *Khilafah* system and the establishment of a state similar to any other European state, such as Belgium for instance, whose constitution served as the source of this constitution. Thus the Sublime Porte did not implement it and Abdul-Hamid, as well as the scholars and prominent Muslim figures opposed it. In this way the Sublime Porte started to avoid implementing the constitution and submitting to the demands of the major powers.

Abdul-Hamid sensed Britain's trickery and hostility and it seemed that he had also uncovered her attempts at contacting government officials. As a result of this he dismissed Midhat Pasha from his post as Grand Vizier and banished him for perpetrating the high treason, for Midhat Pasha was in contact with the British and he was behind the policy of relying on the Western states. The major powers, especially Britain were closely folowing the Ottoman State and they pursued the implementation of the constitution drafted by Midhat Pasha. Indeed, Britain endeavoured to hold a conference to investigate the issue of the Balkans, the Ottoman

State and its domestic reforms.

On 13th June 1878 the conference of Berlin took place, hosting the major powers, Britain, France, Russia and Germany. Disraeli, the Jew, was the British Prime Minister at the time and he represented Britain at the conference. Bismark meanwhile represented Germany and sided with the Ottoman State by opposing the British throughout the conference. The meetings of the conference lasted for four weeks, at the end of which a host of resolutions, were adopted including a demand for the Ottoman State to introduce modern reforms to its system. However, Abdul-Hamid snubbed them and concentrated his efforts towards training his army. He started to crush those who called for the reliance on the Western states or who demanded the removal of Islam and the adoption of the Western system. The adherents of these ideas were forced to leave the country and establish their centres in Paris and Geneva.

Abdul-Hamid pursued his bid to consolidate the institution of the *Khilafah* among the Muslims through Islam, to make it able to confront the Western thoughts. However, he failed in his attempt and the European states, although still unable to introduce the democratic system to the state succeeded in introducing a host of Western laws. They continued pursuing this aim until the Young Turk party rebelled against the Sultan in 1908. They declared the constitution on 21st July 1908 in Salonika and in the same month, they marched towards Istanbul and occupied it. They coerced Sultan Abdul-Hamid into approving the constitution and appointing ministers acceptable to them.

By 17th November, the inauguration of the Ottoman parliament had become easy and Abdul-Hamid submitted temporarily to the Young Turk party. However, he remained determined to abolish the constitution and return to the Islamic *Shari'ah*.

On 13th April, a revolution against the new rulers broke out. The soldiers

revolted and surrounded their officers. They shouted : "Down with Young Turk! Down with Young Turk." Hence, the *Deen* inspired war against the modern innovations was declared, and the majority of the masses marched zealously against the constitution.

On 15th April, the Sultan appointed Tawfiq Pasha as Grand Vizier and assigned to him the task of restoring the implementation of the Islamic *Shari'ah* and the Islamic rules and the abolishment of the new constitution. However, the army in Salonika revolted once more against the Sultan, seized power and dismissed the government.

On 26th April a national committee was held and acting on a *Fatwa* from *Sheikh-ul-Islam*, it took the decision to remove Sultan Abdul-Hamid. His brother Muhammad Rashad acceded to the throne and the constitution was returned and implemented. Hence, the ruling system within the Ottoman State changed and became constitutional and parliamentarian rather than a *Khilafah* system. All that was left of it was a head of state called the *Khaleefah* who held the Sultanate. A parliament and a government were in place and the rules were enacted by parliament. The role of the *Shari'ah* rules in government and legislation was over.

This was as far as the constitutional laws were concerned. As for the *Shari'ah* rules which the judges ruled by, these had been changed even before then. It was since 1856 that the move towards taking the Western laws started. Pursuant to pressure from the Western states, especially Britain and France, and pressure from their agents and those smitten by them from among the Muslims, the State had adopted a host of Western laws since the days of Sultan Abdul-Majid. They had been introduced to the State and had been implemented, with the judges ruling by them. For instance, in 1275 AH (1857 CE) the State enacted the Ottoman penal code. In 1276 AH (1858 CE), the State enacted the Law of Rights and commerce. In 1288 AH (1870 CE), the State split the courts into two types : *Shari'ah* courts and regular law courts for which a system was

established. Then in 1295 AH (1877 CE) the bill for the establishment of regular courts was established, and in 1296 AH (1878 CE) a decree of basics on the Rights and Penalties Procedure was issued, and a *Fatwa* from *Sheikh-ul-Islam* as well as other *Fatwas* from other scholars were issued permitting the taking of such laws on the basis that they did not contradict Islam. When the scholars found no excuse for introducing the civil law to the State, the Journal was established as a law for transactions and the civil law was discarded; this was in 1286AH (1876CE). An imitation of the old French civil law was taken into account. The law was taken from their books of *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), while taking into account what the civil law contained in terms of actions and what could be taken in terms of rules, provided a *Fiqhi* quote was found to agree with them. Even the basis upon which the French civil law was built, that is the natural tendency or what is known to them as the spirit of the text, was taken and an article was drafted for it which stated: "The precept in the contracts lies in the intentions and the meanings, not in the expressions and the wordings."

Adopting the Western laws

Therefore, the *Shari'ah* rules and the Islamic *Fiqh* had been abandoned. The Western laws were adopted as was the Western jurisprudence. The way these laws were taken varied from one law to another. Some Western rules were taken as they were, without any consideration as to whether these were found in the Islamic *Fiqh* or not, and without any thought given as to whether they agreed or contradicted the *Shari'ah* rules, such as the penal code which abolished the *Hudud*. Other laws were taken as rules only, with consideration given to the fact that they were found in the Islamic *Fiqh* even if this were by an unknown *Mujtahid*, or from a *Faqih* who was not qualified to the extent of a *Mujtahid*. In other words if the rule had been found in the books of *Fiqh* or found amongst the scholars opinions, it would have been taken, otherwise it would not have been taken, as was the case with the procedure laws. Some of the laws were imitated in terms of codification, categorisation and cases, while making the *Shari'ah* rules the exclusive articles of law, such as the Journal, which represents a host of *Shari'ah* rules that was established in imitation of the French civil law. Hence, the *Shari'ah* by which the judges ruled became Western rules rather than the Islamic *Shari'ah*, even if some of those rules were *Shari'ah* rules.

The impact of the Fatwas in the introduction of Western laws

What enabled the introduction of the rules of the democratic system as a

constitution for the Islamic State and the Western laws as legislation implemented in the courts, in their capacty as Islamic courts within the *Khilafah* State, were the *Fatwas* of the scholars which stated that they did not contradict Islam, particularly the *Fatwas* of the *Sheikh-ul-Islam*. *Fatwas* were issued stating that the democratic system did not contradict Islam and that Islam was the *Deen* of democracy. A *Fatwa* was given by the *Sheikh-ul-Islam* stating that it was permitted to adopt the Western laws and implement them in the courts upon the Muslims, because Islam does not prohibit their adoption. Hence, the rules of the democratic system were established as a constitution for the Islamic State, and the ruling system was considered by the majority of Muslims to be a *Khilafah* system, so long as the head of state was called the *Khaleefah*, even if the ruling systems implemented were not from the rules of Islam. Furthermore, the Western laws started to be implemented in courts of the Islamic State and these became considered as Islamic laws. Thus the State was still considered an Islamic State, implementing Islam, even though what in fact she was implementing was Western laws, as long as Islam permitted these laws. This implementation of the democratic system within the ruling system and of the Western laws within the courts did not affect the Islamic status of the State, nor did it affect the Islamic status of the laws as far as the majority of the Muslims were concerned, since Islam did not prohibit the adoption of these laws. Contrary to this, this implementation was approved by the Muslims. To some it was even regarded as a reform initiative within the State. Nobody looked upon these laws and these rules as being rules and laws of *kufr*, they rather approved of them and kept silent about them. If there had been anyone who disapproved of those laws and those rules, he never spoke out, nor did he oppose the *Khaleefah*, nor did he demand anything of him. If there had been anyone who disapproved of the suspension of the *Hudud*, he never proclaimed this openly by confronting the *Khaleefah* with his disapproval nor did he demand him to restore them.

The reasons behind the *Fatwa* of the *Sheikh-ul-Islam* and other scholars

pertaining to the adoption of the democratic rules and Western laws was attributable to three matters:

1- It had become implanted in people's minds at the time, and even nowadays, that it was permitted to adopt any matter which did not contradict Islam and which was not prohibited by a *Shari'ah* text. They used as evidence the fact that the Messenger of Allah (saw) had found contracts dating back to the days of *Jahiliyyah* (ignorance) existing among people and he had approved them, and that which he did not approve of, he prohibited. Hence, that which he approved was permitted and that which he prohibited was unlawful. Likewise, it was permitted to adopt any thought, or rule, or law that did not contradict Islam and that had not been prohibited.

2- The *Mubah* (permitted) is that which carries no rebuke. Hence the absence of the rebuke is a permission. So taking a matter whose prohibition has not been mentioned would be *Mubah*. Furthermore, the *Shari'ah* kept silent about it and did not outline its rule, and whatever *Shari'ah* kept silent about is *Mubah*. It has been reported that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: **"Truly Allah has commanded some obligations, hence do not neglect them; and He prohibited certain matters, hence do not violate them; and He determined certain limits, hence do not transgress them and He condoned certain matters out of mercy, not forgetfulness, hence do not search for them."** In another narration, he (saw) said: **"And that which He kept silent about is a condonation."** Therefore, anything that *Shari'ah* kept silent about is *Mubah*. The adoption of rules and laws which have not been mentioned by the *Shari'ah* and which the *Shari'ah* did not mention by any prohibition is part of the *Mubah*. This is since there is no rebuke about them, and since no prohibition was mentioned, and since it was not mentioned by the *Shari'ah* and because the *Shari'ah* kept silent about it.

3- The fact that at that time it became widespread that democracy is

from Islam, for it is based on *Shura'* (consultation), justice and equality. It was also based on giving the authority to the *Ummah*, and this is what Islam is concerned with. Islam equates between rich and poor, rights and duties and between a minister and a shepherd and makes their affairs amongst them based on *Shura'* and makes enjoining *Ma'aruf* and forbidding *Munkar* one of the most important principles. Shura' in Islam has been organised in modern times by what the Europeans refer to as parliament. Enjoining *Ma'aruf* and forbidding *Munkar* has been formulated in the modern civilisation through the freedom of press to criticise and the freedom of individuals and groups to write and voice their opinions frankly. They approve what they see and they disapprove what they see and they speak as they wish. Hence no person is beyond reproach, nor is the government, or the *Wali*. What straightens them, deters them and forces them to keep to the straight and narrow is the awareness of public opinion and its freedom of criticism. This is what is referred to in the Qur'an as "joining together in the mutual teaching of Truth." In this way it was deduced that democracy is from Islam and the Qur'an mentioned it and the Messenger (saw) commanded it.

The error of the Fatwas

Consequently, *Fatwas* related to the adoption of the democratic constitution and the Western laws were issued. The State was still considered to be an Islamic State, functioning as the *Khilafah* system, and the legislation was still considered Islamic as the laws that had been adopted were Islamic laws.

This is where the flaws and the deviation occurred, because the thoughts concerning these three matters contained a fundamental error in their understanding of Islam. This is attributable to several aspects:

1- There is a difference between the thoughts related to *Aqeedah* matters

namely the doctrines and *Shari'ah* rules, and the thoughts related to sciences, techniques, industries and the like. It is permitted to adopt the thoughts related to sciences, techniques and the like, provided these do not contradict Islam. As for the thoughts related to *Aqeedah* matters and *Shari'ah* rules, it would be forbidden to adopt any of them, except those brought to us by the Messenger of Allah (saw) whether it was from the Book of Allah (swt), or the *Sunnah*, or from what the Book and the *Sunnah* have guided to. Evidence about this is reflected in what Muslim reported that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: **"I am but human like you. Hence, if I ordered you something related to your *Deen's* affairs, do take it, and if I ordered you something related to your worldly affairs, then I am only human."** Evidence is also reflected in the *Hadith* about the pollination of palm trees, where he (saw) was reported to have said: **"You are better acquainted with your worldly affairs."** Therefore that which is not part of the *Shari'ah*, namely the *Aqeedah* matters and the rules, can be taken as long as it does not contradict Islam. However, that which is part of the *Shari'ah*, namely *Aqeedah* matters and rules, can only be taken from what the Messenger of Allah (saw) brought and nothing else. The democratic rules and laws are rules taken to solve man's problems, hence they form part of the legislation. Thus it would be wrong to adopt them, unless they have been brought by the Messenger of Allah (saw). It would be wrong to adopt them unless they were *Shari'ah* rules only.

2- The Messenger of Allah (saw) has explicitly forbidden us from taking anything other than what he brought. Muslim reported on the authority of Aisha (ra) that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: **"He who introduces in our order something that is alien to it, must be rejected."** In another narration, he (saw) was reported to have said: **"He who performs an action alien to our order, must be rejected."** Bukhari also reported on the authority of Abu Hurayrah (ra) that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: **"The Hour shall not come until my Ummah follows the ways of the nations before her, hand span to hand span and arm length to arm length."** Upon this they asked: "Is it the Persians and the

Romans?" He (saw) replied: **"Who else among people but them?"** Bukhari also reported on the authority of Abu Said Al-Khudri (ra) that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: **"You shall follow the ways of those before you hand span to hand span and arm length to arm length, and even if they entered a lizard's hole you will follow them."** I said: "O Messenger of Allah! You mean the Jews and the Christians?" He (saw) replied: **"Who else?"** These texts clearly forbid us from taking anything from others. The first *Hadith*, with its two narrations, is clear about the prohibition and about the censure of taking, for it says: **"It should be rejected."** The other two *Ahadith* contain the meaning of prohibition. This prohibition is applicable to the taking of the rules of the constitution and the laws from other than Islam, because it is introducing something alien to our order, even taking from other than our order. It is an emulation of those who are like the Persians and the Romans, namely the British and the French, who are from the Romans, hence, it is forbidden to take these rules and laws.

3 - The Messenger of Allah (saw), even in his capacity as a Messenger, never used to answer when asked about a rule which had not been explained by the revelation. He used to wait until Allah (swt) had revealed such a rule. Bukhari reported on the authority of ibn Mas'ud (ra) that "....the Messenger of Allah (saw) was asked about the spirit and he remained silent until the verse was revealed." Bukhari also reported on the authority of Jabir ibn Abdullah (ra) who said: "I was taken ill once and the Messenger of Allah (saw) and Abu Bakr came to visit me. He (saw) came to me while I was unconscious, so he performed Wudu' and then poured that water over me, so I regained consciousness and then said: O Messenger of Allah! How do I judge in my assets? What do I do with my assets? He (saw) said nothing to me until the verse of inheritance was revealed." This indicates that it is forbidden to take from other than the revelation. If the Messenger of Allah (saw) refrained from giving an opinion until the revelation came to him, this proves that nothing is to be taken apart from what the revelation has indicated.

4- Allah (swt) has commanded us to take what the Messenger of Allah (saw) has ordered and to abstain from taking what he (saw) has prohibited. Allah (swt) also commanded us to refer in judgement to the Messenger of Allah (saw), namely to what the Messenger of Allah (saw) has brought. Allah (swt) says:

وَمَا آتَاكُمْ الرَّسُولُ فَخُذُوهُ وَمَا نَهَاكُمْ عَنْهُ فَانْتَهُوا

"And take whatever the Messenger has brought
to you and refrain from whatever he has forbidden you."
[TMQ Al Hashr 59:7]

This means that we should not take anything that the Messenger of Allah (saw) has not brought to us. As for the opposite understanding of

وَمَا نَهَاكُمْ عَنْهُ

"....whatever he has forbidden you.."

this is inapplicable and nullified by the generality of the *Shari'ah* texts which prohibit the taking of anything other than from the Islamic *Shari'ah*, such as Allah (swt) saying:

فَلاَ وَرَبِّكَ لاَ يُؤْمِنُونَ حَتَّى يُحَكِّمُوكَ فِيمَا شَجَرَ بَيْنَهُمْ

"No by your God, they shall not become true believers until they make you judges in all disputes amongst them."
[TMQ Al Nisa'a 4:65]

And also in His saying (swt)

يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يَتَحَاكَمُوا إِلَى الطَّاغُوتِ وَقَدْ أُمِرُوا أَنْ يَكْفُرُوا بِهِ

"They wish to refer in judgement to *Taghut* (evil) whilst
they have been commanded to reject it."
[TMQ Al-Nisa'a 4:60]

Also such as the saying of the Messenger of Allah (saw): **"Any action alien to our order must be rejected."** This should be the case with every opposite understanding. If a *Shari'ah* text were to indicate other than what we deduce from it, then this understanding should be nullified and should not be applicable, such as Allah (swt) saying:

وَلاَ تُكْرِهُوا فَتَيَاتِكُمْ عَلَى الْبِغَاءِ إِنْ أَرَدْنَ تَحَصُّنًا

"And do not coerce your women to commit
fornication if they wished to remain chaste."
[TMQ Al Nur 24:33]

the opposite understanding of which is that if they did not wish to remain chaste, it would be permitted to coerce them. However, this understanding is nullified by the generality of the text which forbids fornication, which is Allah (swt) saying:

وَلاَ تَقْرَبُوا الزِّنَى

"...and do not approach fornication."
[TMQ Al Isra 17:32]

Therefore, the meaning of the verse would be to abide by what the Messenger of Allah (saw) has ordered and to abstain from what he (saw) has forbidden. Hence, we must not only make lawful what Allah (swt) has made lawful, we must forbid what Allah (swt) has forbidden. That which the Messenger of Allah (saw) has not brought to us, we do not take and that which he has not forbidden, we do not forbid. However, the non prohibition does not mean the permissibility of taking, for it is forbidden to take from other than *Shari'ah*, it rather means the non prohibition of that which Allah has not forbidden. This is the meaning of the verse.

If this verse were linked to Allah (swt) saying:

فَلْيَحْذَرْ الَّذِينَ يُخَالِفُونَ عَنْ أَمْرِهِ أَنْ

تُصِيبَهُمْ فِتْنَةٌ أَوْ يُصِيبَهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ

"Let those who violate his command beware of
being struck by *Fitna* or by a severe punishment"
[TMQ Al Nur 24:63]

if it were known that the phrase "whatever" in His saying

وَمَا نَهَاكُمْ عَنْهُ

"Whatever he has brought to you" and

وَمَا نَهَاكُمْ

"Whatever he has forbidden you"

were a term of generality, the obligation of taking what he has brought would clearly be manifested, and that the prohibition of taking from other than what he had brought would be a sin that carries a severe penalty.

Allah (swt) also says:

فَلاَ وَرَبِّكَ لاَ يُؤْمِنُونَ حَتَّى يُحَكِّمُوكَ فِيمَا شَجَرَ بَيْنَهُمْ

"No by your God, they shall not become true believers until they
make you judge in matters that are of dispute amongst them."
[TMQ Al Nisa'a 4:65]

Hence, He denied *Iman* from those who refer in their judgement to other than the Messenger of Allah in their actions, which indicates conclusively that reference in judgement should be restricted only to what the Messenger

of Allah (saw) has brought.

Besides, Allah (swt) has rebuked those who wished to refer in judgement to other than what the Messenger of Allah (saw) has brought. He (swt) says:

أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى الَّذِينَ يَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّهُمْ آمَنُوا بِمَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ وَمَا أُنزِلَ مِنْ قَبْلِكَ يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يَتَحَاكَمُوا إِلَى الطَّاغُوتِ وَقَدْ أُمِرُوا أَنْ يَكْفُرُوا بِهِ وَيُرِيدُ الشَّيْطَانُ أَنْ يُضِلَّهُمْ ضَلَالًا بَعِيدًا

"Did you not see those who pretend to have believed in what has been revealed to you and what has been revealed before you; they wish to refer in judgement to *Taghut* whilst they have been ordered to reject it; and *Shaytan* wishes to lead far astray"
[TMQ Al Nisa'a 4:60]

This indicates that refering the judgement to other than what the Messenger of Allah has brought would be a deviation and a reference in judgement to *Taghut*.

5- The *Shari'ah* rule is the address of the Legislator related to the actions of the servants, and the Muslims are commanded to refer in their actions to the address of the Legislator and to conduct their affairs in accordance with this address. So, even if they adopted something that does not contradict the address of the legislator in any of their actions or in any of their conducts, they would have in this case taken other than the *Shari'ah* rule, for they would not have taken the original *Shari'ah* rule, but rather that which does not contradict it, hence their adoption would not be an adoption of the *Shari'ah* rule. Besides, if one were to take that which conforms with the *Shari'ah* rule, but from other than the Book and the *Sunnah*, this adoption would be forbidden for it is not the taking of the *Shari'ah* rule, but rather an adoption of other than the *Shari'ah* rule that

happens to agree with the *Shari'ah* rule. In this case it would not be a reference to what the Messenger of Allah (saw) has brought, but a reference to other than what he (saw) has brought, despite its agreement with it. This is so because the Muslim is commanded to adopt the *Shari'ah* rule and nothing else. For instance, marriage according to the *Shari'ah* is subject to a *Shari'ah* based offer and acceptance, with the wordings of *Inkah* (marrying off) and *Tazwij* (acceptance in marriage) and in the presence of two Muslim witnesses. If a Muslim man and woman went to a church, and a priest undertook the marriage contract on the basis of Christianity using the words of *Inkah* and *Tazwij* in the presence of two Muslim witnesses, would they be considered to be married according to the *Shari'ah* rule or according to other than that? In other words, would they have referred to what the Messenger of Allah (saw) has brought, or to what the distorted and abrogated Christianity has brought? Also, for instance, if a Christian died and his family were to divide his inheritance among themselves according to the rules of Islam, because Islam is fair, just or beneficial, and if they were to take a limitation of succession document from the *Shari'ah* court, would they have referred to the *Shari'ah* rule, or would they have merely taken the system because it was fair, just or beneficial? They would have undoubtedly taken other than the *Shari'ah* rule, because the taking of the *Shari'ah* rule should be taken because the Messenger of Allah (saw) has brought it, as it is part of the commands and the prohibitions of Allah (swt). Only then would its taking be considered a taking of the *Shari'ah* rule. However, the taking of the rule because the rule is just and fair, or because it is beneficial, is not considered taking the *Shari'ah* rule. The verse states

حَتَّى يُحَكِّمُوكَ

"Until they make you judge",

and it states

مَا آتَاكُمْ الرَّسُول فَخُذُوهُ

"And take whatever the Messenger has brought to you",

Thus a rule should be taken on the basis of the fact that it has been brought by the Messenger of Allah (saw). Accordingly anything that is taken on other than this basis, it would not be considered a *Shari'ah* rule regardless of whether this agreed with the *Shari'ah* rule or contradicted it and even if the same *Shari'ah* rule were taken as it is, but not taken because the Messenger of Allah (saw) has brought it, but rather because it is beneficial and just.

6- The Messenger of Allah's approval of the *Kufr* contracts is exclusive to him (saw), in his quality as the Messenger of Allah, as his approval is legislation, just like his sayings and his actions. This quality is not conferred upon any other person but him (saw). Therefore, whatever the Messenger of Allah (saw) performed, said, or approved is considered as legislation and it is based on the revelation. No one apart from the Messenger of Allah (saw) has the right to legislate. Hence, the contracts which the Messenger of Allah (saw) has approved have become *Shari'ah* rules, even if they had been contracts of the times of *Jahiliyyah* (ignorance). This is because their approval by the Messenger of Allah (saw) serves as evidence that they are *Shari'ah* rules, even if these were acts of worship. Hence, they would have been deduced from the approval of the Messenger of Allah (saw) and would have been taken on that basis, not because they had been contracts of *Jahiliyyah* which happened not to contradict Islam. The *Sahaba* (ra) used to refer to the silence of the Messenger of Allah (saw) over a rule as evidence about the rule being a *Shari'ah* rule. It has been reported that the lizard was eaten at the table of (saw) and he did not eat from it; thus ibn Abbas (ra) used his silence (saw) as evidence about the permissibility of eating lizard, despite the fact that the Messenger of Allah (saw) did not eat from it. In addition, the fact that there are many incidents in which the silence of the Messenger of Allah (saw) served as evidence that they were part of the *Shari'ah* rules.

7- The *Mubah* is not that which carries no (*Haraj*) rebuke, for the absence of rebuke from the performing or the refraining does not indicate a

Shari'ah permission, nor does the lifting of rebuke necessitate the granting of choice. The prohibition of something does not mean the commanding of its opposite. Also, the commanding of something does not mean the prohibition of its opposite. The lifting of rebuke could be coupled with the obligation, as is the case in Allah's (swt) saying:

فَمَنْ حَجَّ الْبَيْتَ أَوْ اعْتَمَرَ فَلاَ جُنَاحَ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَطَّوَّفَ بِهِمَا

"And he who makes *Hajj* to the House or *Umrah*,
there is no rebuke in making *Tawaf*"
[TMQ Al Baqarah 2:158]

Hence, the *Tawaf* during *Hajj* and *Umrah* is an obligation and not *Mubah*. Also, the lifting of rebuke could be a *Rukhsah* (licence), as is the case in Allah's (swt) saying:

فَلَيْسَ عَلَيْكُمْ جُنَاحٌ أَنْ تَقْصُرُوا مِنْ الصَّلاَةِ

"Hence, there is no rebuke if you were to shorten your prayers"
[TMQ Al Nisa'a 4:101]

Here, the lifting of rebuke does not mean the permissibility. Therefore, the *Mubah* is not that which there is no rebuke in it, rather the *mubah* is that which the heard evidence from the address of the Legislator has indicated the granting of choice between performing or abstaining without any other alternative. Hence, the *Ibaha* (permissibility) is that which the *Shari'ah* has granted the choice between taking and abstaining, either by directly mentioning the granting of the choice in the text itself such as Allah's (swt) saying:

نِسَاؤُكُمْ حَرْثٌ لَكُمْ فَأْتُوا حَرْثَكُمْ أَنَّى شِئْتُمْ

"Your wives are a tilth for you, so go to your tilth,
when or how you will"
[TMQ Al Baqarah 2:223]

or such as Allah's (swt) saying :

وَكُلاَ مِنْهَا رَغَدًا حَيْثُ شِئْتُمَا

"And eat both of you freely with pleasure and delight,
of things therein as wherever you will"
[TMQ Al Baqarah 2:35]

or by deducing the understanding from the text such as Allah's (swt) saying:

وَإِذَا حَلَلْتُمْ فَاصْطَادُوا

"But when you finish the *Ihram*,
[TMQ Al Maidah 5:2]

or His (swt) saying

فَإِذَا قُضِيَتْ الصَّلاَةُ فَانتَشِرُوا

"and when the *Salah* is over you may disperse",
[TMQ Al-Jum'ah 62:10]

or His (swt) saying

كُلُوا مِنْ طَيِّبَاتِ مَا رَزَقْنَاكُمْ

"Do eat from the good things We have provided for you"
[TMQ Al Baqarah 2:57]

Besides, the *Ibaha* is part of the *Shari'ah* rules, and the *Shari'ah* rule is the address of the Legislator related to the actions of the servants, so it requires a *Shari'ah* evidence from the heard evidences to indicate that the thing is *Mubah* in order for it to be *Mubah*. Hence, the absence of a *Shari'ah* rule about something to indicate that it is *Wajib*, or *Manduh*, or *Haram* or *Makruh*, does not indicate that it is *Mubah*, for it still requires a *Shari'ah* rule to indicate its *Ibaha*.

As for the things and actions which existed before the arrival of *Shari'ah*, such as contracts and transactions among others, their *Ibaha* was not a continuation of what they had been before the arrival of the *Shari'ah*, it is rather derived from a *Shari'ah* text that indicated it. Trade was mentioned by a *Shari'ah* text, that is Allah (swt) saying:

وَأَحَلَّ اللَّهُ الْبَيْعَ وَحَرَّمَ الرِّبَا

"And Allah made trade lawful and made usury unlawful"
[TMQ Al Baqarah 2:275]

Hiring was performed by the Messenger of Allah (saw), for it has been reported that he (saw) hired a man from Bani Al-Dayl as a guide to show him the way. Hence, the *Ibaha* of trade and that of hire has come from a *Shari'ah* text, and not from its continuation from the days of *Jahiliyyah*. As well as being a saying from the Qur'an, or a saying from the Messenger of Allah (saw), the *Shari'ah* text could also be an action, that is the action of the Messenger of Allah (saw), and it could also be a silence, that is the silence of the Messenger of Allah (saw). Thus whatever continued in terms of actions, things, contracts and transactions from the days of *Jahiliyyah* to the days of Islam, and which the Muslims continued to pursue, they would have pursued it because a *Shari'ah* evidence had come to

indicate its *Ibaha*, either by a saying from the Qur'an or the Messenger of Allah (saw), or by an action of the Messenger or by his silence (saw), but not just by a continuation of what had existed in the days of *Jahiliyyah*.That which has not been established as a *Shari'ah* evidence, such as a saying, or an action or a silence, and had existed in the days of *Jahiliyyah*, should not continue and should not be taken, even if no prohibition were mentioned. A *Shari'ah* evidence should rather be sought for it. Hence the *Ibaha* of that which had existed before the arrival of *Shari'ah* and continued after its arrival, has been established by a *Shari'ah* rule related to it.
It would be wrong to say that because the *Shari'ah* has kept silent over it, its *Ibaha* has continued, and that which the *Shari'ah* has kept silent over and has not explained, its rule must be *Mubah*. This is because the *Shari'ah* has not kept silent over it but demonstrated its rule by an evidence related to it, and the silence of the Messenger of Allah (saw) is not considered a silence of *Shari'ah*, but rather a statement from *Shari'ah*, for the silence of the Messenger of Allah (saw) is just like his saying and his action and just like the Qur'an, i.e. a statement of a *Shari'ah* rule.

No Muslim has the right to say that the Legislator (swt) has kept silent over something and has not stated its rule after reading Allah's (swt) saying:

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الإِسْلَامَ دِينًا

"This day I have perfected your *Deen* for you, completed
My Favour upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as your *Deen*"
[TMQ Al Ma'ida 5:3]

Also His saying (swt):

وَنَزَّلْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ تِبْيَانًا لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ

"And We have revealed the Book to you explaining everything"
[TMQ Al Nahl 16: 89]

Hence, no Muslim has the right to claim that there are situations devoid of a *Shari'ah* rule, meaning that the *Shari'ah* has completely disregarded such a situation and has not established an evidence for it. That is that the evidence did not come from either the Book or the *Sunnah*, or they have not given an indication through a legitimate *Illah* (*Shari'ah* reason), that which the text has mentioned either explicitly, or by way of indication, or deduction or by way of analogy, to draw the attention through this evidence or this indication to the rule related to a host of situations, whether it is *Wajib* (compulsory), *Manduh* (recommended), *Haram* (forbidden), *Makruh* (despised) or *Mubah* (permitted). No Muslim should hold this view, for he would be slandering the *Shari'ah* by claiming that it is imperfect and he would be legitimising the reference in judgements to other than the *Shari'ah*, thus contradicting Allah's (swt) saying:

فَلاَ وَرَبِّكَ لاَ يُؤْمِنُونَ حَتَّى يُحَكِّمُوكَ فِيمَا شَجَرَ بَيْنَهُمْ

"No by your God, they shall not become true believers until they make you judge in matters that are of dispute amongst them"
[TMQ Al Nisa'a 4:65]

If the *Shari'ah* did not come with the rule and the Muslim adopted a rule that the *Shari'ah* had not come with, he would have referred in judgement to other than the *Shari'ah*, and this is forbidden. As he would be claiming that the *Shari'ah* has not come with the rules for all situations. So claiming a permission to refer to other than *Shari'ah* under the pretext that *Shari'ah* has not come with these rules, would be a false claim. Therefore, it is inconceivable to state that whatever the *Shari'ah* has kept silent over is *Mubah*, for this would be an *Ibaha* to refer to other than *Shari'ah*, in addition to the fact that it would be a slander against the *Shari'ah* by claiming that it has kept silent over certain rules and has not established them. Besides, this would be in contradiction to reality, as *Shari'ah* has in fact not kept silent over anything at all.

As for the Messenger of Allah's (saw) saying: "**Truly Allah has decreed certain obligations, hence do not neglect them**..." , this denotes the prohibition of asking about that which has not been mentioned textually by *Shari'ah*. It is similar to his saying (saw) : "**Truly the gravest sinners amongst the Muslims would be those who ask about something that has not been forbidden upon them, then it became forbidden because of their asking**." There are many *ahadith* to that effect. It has been reported that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said : "**Spare me the things I have not mentioned to you, for those before you perished because of their constant asking and their arguing with their prophets; so refrain from that which I forbid you and perform to your utmost ability that which I order you.**" It has also been reported that he (saw) once recited Allah's (swt) saying: "**And Allah commanded people to perform *Hajj***". Upon this a man asked : "O Messenger of Allah! Is it every year?" He (saw) did not reply. So the man asked again : "O Messenger of Allah! Is it every year?" Again he (saw) did not reply. So the man asked him a third time : "O Messenger of Allah! Is it every year?" Upon this the Messenger of Allah (saw) said : "**By He Who owns my soul, if I said it, it will become obligatory, and if it did become obligatory you would not be able to perform it, and if you did not perform it you would be sinful. So spare me that which I have not ordered you.**" Hence, the meaning of the Messenger of Allah (saw) saying : "**and He has condoned other things**," and in the narration of : "**and that which He kept silent over is a condonation**", is that He (swt) has lightened your obligation, so do not ask lest you overburden yourselves. For instance, the duty of *Hajj* has been decreed in general terms, and someone asked whether it should be performed every year. Allah (swt) has reduced this obligation and made it once in a lifetime in order to lighten your load and out of mercy upon the people, so He (swt) has condoned and kept silent over this obligation being every year. Thus one does not look into these things and does not ask about them. Evidence about the fact that this was the meaning is the saying of Allah's Messenger (saw): "**Hence, do not look into them**" after he (saw) had

said : "**And He has condoned certain things**" So, the point at issue is prohibiting Muslims from asking about things whose prohibition has not been revealed. The point at issue is not that He (swt) has not stated some of the *Shari'ah* rules, for the context of the *Hadith* reveals the mercy of Allah (swt) upon them and His condoning. As for the other narration : "**And that which He kept silent over is a condonation**", it also indicates that the issue is related to the prohibition of searching and asking about that which He (swt) has lightened for you and has not forbidden for you. Thus when something is not prohibited it is a condonation from Allah (swt), in other words, that which He (swt) kept silent about its prohibition denotes a condonation from Allah (swt), thus do not ask about it. This is reflected in Allah's (swt) saying:

"O you who have believed do not ask about matters which,
if made plain to you, may cause you trouble"
[TMQ Al Ma'ida 5:101]

Then He (swt) said:

وَلِلَّهِ عَلَى النَّاسِ حِجُّ الْبَيْتِ

"Allah has condoned them." i.e. those matters.
[TMQ Al Ma'ida 5:101]

The contradiction between Islam and Democracy

8 - Democracy contradicts Islam completely in the fundamentals and in the details, and this is reflected in several aspects :

(i) Democracy gives the sovereignty to the people and entrusts them with the whole matter. Hence, people are the supreme reference in everything. According to the rules of democracy, people are the source of power. Thus people are the source of the legislative power, the judicial power and the executive power. It is people who legislate, appoint the judges and establish the rulers. This is contrary to Islam which makes the sovereignty to *Shari'ah* and not to people. In this way the whole matter is to the *Shari'ah* and it is the supreme reference in everything. As for the powers, Islam has made the legislative power for Allah (swt), not to people. It is Allah (swt) alone who legislates the rules in everything, be it in regard to worship, transactions, the punishments or otherwise. It is forbidden for anyone to legislate, even if it was a single rule. People in Islam have the authority - namely the rule, so it is the people who elect the ruler and appoint him. Thus people are the source of the executive power only - they select the man who assumes the authority and the rule. As for the judicial power, this is assumed by the *Khaleefah* or whoever deputises for him in this. It is the *Khaleefah* who appoints the judges or appoints someone who appoints the judges. No person from among the people, individuals or groups alike have the authority to appoint a judge. This is rather restricted to the *Khaleefah* and his deputy.

(ii) The leadership in the democratic system is collective and not for the individual. The power is also collective and not for the individual. The authority, or the rule is assumed by the council of ministers meaning the cabinet. The head of state, be it a king or a president, is a nominal figure who reigns but does not rule. The body that rules and assumes the power is the cabinet. This is contrary to Islam, where the leadership is for the individual and not a collective and where the power is also for the individual

and not a collective. It has been reported on the authority of Abu Sa'id Al-Khudri (ra) that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said : "**If three people set off on a journey, they should appoint one of them as an *Amir*.**" Abdullah ibn Omar also reported that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said : "**It is forbidden for any three people to be anywhere on earth without having appointed one *Amir* from amongst them.**" The word "*one*" means just that, and it refers to a number, namely one and no more. This is deduced from the opposite understanding of the word "*one*". The opposite understanding can be asked and its indication is equal to the indication of the text as far as the evidence is concerned. The opposite understanding can only be made redundant in one single instance, that is if a text nullifies it. In this instance, no text has come to nullify it, thus it is applicable. This stipulates the application of : "**they should appoint one as *Amir***" and no more, or "**without having appointed one *Amir***" and no more. Hence, the opposite understanding in the two *Ahadith* indicates that it is absolutely forbidden for the *Imara* to be conferred to more than one man. This is supported by the action of the Messenger of Allah (saw), for in all the situations in which he appointed *Amirs*, never did he (saw) appoint more than one *Amir* over one single area. Thus the authority, namely the rule, is assumed by the head of state - the *Amir ul-Mu'mineen*, (the *Khaleefah*) and all of the state related mandatory powers are confined to him. He is the one with the competence in the authority and in the rule and no one shares any of this competence with him, rather it is exclusive to him. Thus, leadership and authority in Islam is for the individual.

(iii) The state in the democratic system consists of several institutions and not one single institution. The government is one institution, that is the executive power, and every syndicate is an independent institution with the competence of rule and power in the field for which it has been established. For instance, the lawyers syndicate is an institution that has the power and the rule in all the issues related to the lawyers, ranging from the authorising of lawyers to practise the profession, or suspending them,

or prosecuting them, and it deals with all matters related to the lawyers in terms of power and rule. Similar to this are the doctors' syndicate, the pharmacists' syndicate and the civil engineers' syndicate, among others. The syndicates enjoy within their respective fields the same competence enjoyed by the government in terms of power. The government itself does not enjoy the same power conferred to the syndicate in its specific field. This is contradictory to Islam, where the state and the government are one body, which holds the power, the *Khaleefah*. He is exclusively the one with the competence and no other person has any competence at all. The Messenger of Allah (saw) said: "**The Imam is a guardian, and he is responsible for his guardianship**." The phrase "**he is**" refers in an Arabic grammatical context to a restrictive form and it is a separating pronoun. Thus His saying (saw) "**and he is responsible**" denotes a restriction upon the responsibility of the Imam. Hence, there exists nobody within the state, the individuals or groups, who has any power to rule conferred to him in origin, apart from the *Khaleefah*.

(iv) In the democratic system, seeking people's opinion in ruling matters is considered an obligation. The ruler must seek people's opinion or the opinion of the councils elected by the people, and he has no right to contradict people. Thus seeking people's opinion is compulsory in the democratic system. This is contrary to Islam, where seeking the *Ummah's* opinion, that is the *Shura'* (consultation), is *Mandub* and not compulsory. It is *Mandub* for the *Khaleefah* to seek the *Ummah's* opinion and not obligatory upon him. This is so because although Allah (swt) praised the *Shura'*, He (swt) restricted it to the area of *Mubah* only. So, the fact that it is confined to the area of *Mubah* serves as a *Qareenah* (conjunction) that it is not compulsory, because its subject matter is *Mubah*. Hence, a consultation in such a subject matter cannot be obligatory. Therefore, it is *Mandub* for the *Khaleefah* to consult the *Ummah*, because Allah (swt) praised the *Shura'* and because it can only be in the area of *Mubah*.

(v) In the democratic system, the government is bound by the majority's

opinion in every single matter, whether this were in legislation or other than that. However, they tend in some cases to make the majority rule binding even if this were 51%, and in other cases they tend to impose a two thirds' majority. In any case, the majority's opinion is binding in every matter. This is contrary to Islam, where the majority's opinion is not given preponderance in everything and is not always binding. Further elaboration follows :

(a) The *Shari'ah rules*, namely the legislative opinions : These are not subject to the majority's opinion, nor the minority's opinion, but everyone should comply with the *Shari'ah* evidence. Evidence about this is reflected in the fact that the Messenger of Allah (saw) did comply in the issue of the treaty of Al-Hudaybiya with the revelation and brushed aside the opinions of Abu Bakr (ra) and Omar (ra). He (saw) even brushed aside the opinion of all the Muslims and rejected categorically their opinion, and he forced them to comply with his opinion despite their anger and their resentment He (saw) said to them : "**I am the servant of Allah and I shall not violate His command.**" This proves that that which is preponderant is not the majority, nor the minority, but rather what has been established by the revelation, i.e. the *Shari'ah* evidence. If there were several evidences, the strongest evidence would be given preponderance.Thus, the rule is taken and given preponderance according to the strength of its evidence.However, obliging people to adopt the rule and enacting it as a law is exclusively the competence of the *Khaleefah*, for he alone reserves the right to adopt the rules, and this is derived from the general consensus of the *Sahaba*, which denotes that the *Imam* reserves the right to adopt specific rules and to order their implementation. The Muslims for their part should abide by them and cast aside their own opinions. The established *Shari'ah* principles are : "The order of the *Imam* is binding openly and secretly", "The order of the *Imam* settles the differences", and "The Sultan reserves the right to generate from the rulings that which is appropriate to the new problems which arise". What applies to the *Shari'ah* rules applies also to the *Shari'ah* definitions, where the preponderant factor

is the strength of the evidence, and it is the *Khaleefah* alone who reserves the right to adopt them. Therefore his own opinion would be the decisive and binding factor.

(b) The opinion that indicates a thought in a specific subject, whether this generates one or several actions. The action or actions will be studied on the basis of the subject. In other words, the opinion related to the undertaking of actions, is when the subjects will require understanding and contemplation. The opinion is sought with the aim of reaching a specific idea about the subject. Thus a decision is made on whether to undertake the action or refrain, or on the manner in which the action is to be undertaken, namely that which is related to the "opinion, warfare and tactics". This opinion which indicates a thought in a specific subject should be subject to correctness, and not subject to the majority. For instance :

Should the revival of the *Ummah* be worked for by elevating her intellectual level or by raising her economic standards?

Were the wars of apostasy which broke out in the time of Abu Bakr (ra) considered a rejection of *Shari'ah* rules or a mere armed rebellion?

The way Ali (ra) dealt with the *Walis* when he took office - should he have kept them or removed them, or should he have kept some and removed the others?

The way he (ra) dealt with the issue of Mu'awiyya in particular - should he have removed him from the *Wilaya* of *Al-Sham* immediately or should he have kept him until he had established his authority over all the territories of the *Khilafah*?

The issue of raising the Qur'an in the face of Ali (ra) - was it really a reference in judgement to the Qur'an or was it just a trick?

The Ottoman State's building of a railway track between Istanbul and Baghdad, should they have given it to German contractors or Belgian contractors?

Britain's attempt at joining the European Community in 1962 - should she have joined or not? In other words, would her entry have allowed her to maintain her international standing and keep her influence over Europe intact or would it have resulted in economic and political loss?

The development of wealth in Egypt - should it have been through the establishment of heavy industry or through the building of the "High Dam"?

Turkey's nuclear armament programme - should she have endeavoured to acquire nuclear weapons by relying on her own resources and expenditure or should she have relied on foreign investment?

The Ottoman State's endeavour to improve education - should she have opted for increasing the amount of schools and universities or should she have reviewed the education curricula?

Therefore, in every action whose subject requires understanding and contemplation, soundness should be given preponderance over the majority. Evidence about this is reflected in the action of the Messenger of Allah (saw), for when he (saw) together with the Muslims, halted by the nearest water of Badr, Al-Hubab ibn ul-Munthir (ra) did not like the spot and he was well acquainted with places and an expert in warfare, so he said to the Messenger of Allah (saw) : "Is this the place which Allah has ordered you to occupy, so that we can neither advance, nor withdraw from it, or is it a matter of opinion, war and tactics?"The Messenger of Allah (saw) said : "**It is rather a matter of opinion, war and tactics.**" Upon this Al-Hubab said : "This is not the place to stop." He then pointed to a spot and soon the Messenger of Allah (saw) and those with him

stood up and followed Al-Hubab's opinion. In this *Hadith*, the Messenger of Allah (saw) abandoned his opinion and did not refer to the Muslims' opinion. He (saw) followed that which was sound and was content with the opinion of one person in a matter which the Messenger of Allah (saw) described as being "*a matter of opinion, war and tactics*". Thus he (saw) imposed this opinion upon all the Muslims, since it was the correct one and the soundest opinion. This indicates that every opinion of this type, i.e. "*a matter of opinion, war and tactics*", is given preponderance on the grounds of soundness, and not that of majority. It is up to the *Khaleefah* alone to decide that which is sound, for it was the Messenger of Allah (saw) who decided on what was sound in the battle of Badr, in his capacity as head of state, not in his capacity as a Messenger.

Similar to the opinion that indicates a thought in a specific subject, is the technical opinion which the experts understand, because it is of the type that requires understanding, contemplation and expertise. Evidence about this is reflected in the fact that the opinion of Al-Hubab (ra) was accepted in a strategic matter. It was an opinion in a technical matter given by a person who was well acquainted with places and expertise in warfare. Similar to this are the non-*Shari'ah* definitions, for these also require understanding and contemplation.

(c) The opinion that leads to an action and does not require understanding and contemplation by the experts and technicians. In this type of opinion, preponderance is given to the majority and it is binding, such as the election of a *Khaleefah* - do we vote for this man or that man? Or such as the appointment of a referee to look into an incident - do we appoint this person or that person? Or such as the establishment of development projects - do we build hospitals or schools? Or such as granting aid to the farmers - do we grant them cash or do we grant them machines, seeds and fertilisers? And so on. Hence, every action that does not require understanding and contemplation by the experts and technicians should be subject to the opinion of the majority and the State is bound by such

an opinion. Therefore, the *Khaleefah* is bound by such an opinion. Evidence about this is reflected in the fact that the Messenger of Allah (saw) accepted the majority's opinion in Uhud and went outside Madinah despite the fact that he (saw) deemed this opinion to be wrong and deemed the sound opinion to be other than that of the majority as did the senior *Sahaba* who also held a different opinion to that of the majority; their opinion was that of the Messenger of Allah (saw), that they should remain inside Madinah. This indicates that the majority's opinion in such an action is the one that is preponderant and binding.

Some people may get confused about the difference between an action whose subject requires understanding and contemplation and an action that does not require this. However, if one were to scrutinise the evidence of each of the two actions, the difference would be clearly manifested. The Messenger of Allah (saw) said to Al-Hubab (ra) in the battle of Badr : "**It is a matter of opinion, war and tactics**", which means that camping in such a place is related to matters which should be referred to the experts, i.e. it is part of the military matters which require contemplation and study and part of the tactics set up for the enemy which require scrutiny in order to set up such tactics. As for the battle of Uhud, the Messenger of Allah (saw) said to the Muslims : "**If you think it is right to stop in Madinah and leave them where they have encamped, for if they halt they will have halted in a bad position and if they try to enter the city, we can fight them therein.**" Upon this some of the Muslims said : "O Messenger of Allah! Lead us forth to our enemies, lest they think that we are too cowardly and too weak to fight them." Upon this Abdullah ibn Ubay ibn Salool said : "O Messenger of Allah! Stay in Madinah, do not go out to them. We have never gone out to fight an enemy but we have met disaster, and no one has come in against us without being defeated, so leave them where they are. If they stay they stay in an evil predicament, and if they come in, the men will fight them and the women and children will throw stones on them from the walls, and if they retreat they will retreat low spirited as they came." Hence, the

issue was about whether to go out or not to go out, and not about the place of the battle - meaning that the issue was not about whether they should have fortified themselves inside Madinah and fought from there or they should have fortified themselves in the mountain of Uhud. The issue was about the enemy coming towards them, should they have gone out to meet them and engage in a war with them or should they have stayed put and if they were attacked, then to fight back, whereas if the enemy did not attack them, then to let them be. Hence, there was a difference between the reality of both situations and between the ways in which the Messenger of Allah (saw) handled each of the two situations. From this difference between the two situations, the difference between the action that was referred to the sound opinion and the action that was referred to the opinion of the majority becomes manifest. In other words, there is a difference between the action whose subject requires understanding and contemplation and the action that does not require understanding and contemplation. The action whose subject is critical and important and whose understanding requires exertion, is different in its nature from the action that has no subject, or whose subject is not critical or is common knowledge. Although this difference between the two actions is somewhat subtle, it does however exist and can be understood.

Therefore, the majority's opinion in Islam is only taken in one single situation, that is in the actions which do not require understanding and contemplation by the experts and technicians. As for the other actions, these are not subject to the majority's opinion. This is supported by what has been reported that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said to Abu Bakr (ra) and Omar (ra) : "**If you agreed upon a consultation, I would not contradict you**." This serves as evidence that the majority's opinion is given preponderance. However, he (saw) restricted their agreement to an explanatory qualification, thus he (saw) said : "**Upon a consultation**." And if his (saw) saying "**I would not contradict you**", were linked to his contradiction to their opinion in Al-Hudaybiya, and to his enjoining

of Al-Hubab's (ra) opinion upon them, it would become clear that his saying : "**Upon a consultation**" serves as a qualification for not contradicting them. Also their non contradiction is a matter related to a consultation, which is other than that which is a revelation and other than that which is a matter of "*opinion, war and tactics*". We deduce from this that the *Hadith* indicates that the majority's opinion is given preponderance in matters which are other than the *Shari'ah* rules and other than that which is a matter of "*opinion, war and tactics.*" Therefore, Islam contradicts democracy.

(vi) In democracy, some individuals enjoy an immunity that protects them from the law. Thus the law cannot touch them due to the immunity they enjoy, as is the case with the head of state and the members of parliament. If the head of state committed a crime, he would not be prosecuted and he would not be subject to the law, because he enjoys this immunity. Likewise are the members of parliament, for if any of them were to commit a crime during a parliamentary session, he would not be prosecuted and he would not be subject to a law enforcement until his immunity is lifted. This is contradictory to Islam, where no citizen of the Islamic State is given any immunity whatsoever. The head of State is like any ordinary person in that if he committed a crime he would be prosecuted and the law would be implemented upon him. The same applies to the members of the *Shura'* Council, for each one of them is like any ordinary person. However, if the crime of the accused person were not connected to his profession within the State, and was in other than ruling or administrative matters, he would be prosecuted before the judicial court. Whereas if the crime he was accused of were connected to his profession within the State, namely a crime related to ruling or administrative matters, he would be prosecuted before the court of *Mathalim*. Immunity in the Islamic State is given to no one except the envoys who come from abroad on the diplomatic missions. Only they enjoy diplomatic immunity and apart from them, no one at all has any diplomatic immunity.

The general freedoms in democracy contradict Islam

(vii) There exists in the democratic system what is known as general freedoms : Personal freedom, freedom of ownership, freedom of creed and freedom of expression. Hence, every person can do what they wish. So there is no punishment against fornication; it is even forbidden to enact such a punishment, for this is regarded as an infringement of personal freedom. Also, every person can acquire through any means, anything they wish. Thus one can acquire wealth through gambling, deception or monopoly. Also, every person can embrace any *Aqeedah* they wish and they can express any opinion they wish. This is contradictory to Islam, for in Islam there is no freedom, meaning non adherance to anything when performing actions. Islam indeed restricts the Muslim to abiding by the *Shari'ah* rules. Every action performed by the Muslim is subject to the adherence to the *Shari'ah* rules. What is known as general freedoms has no existence in Islam. There is no personal freedom, for the men and women fornicators will be lashed and the men and women adulterers will be stoned. Also there is no freedom of ownership, for the wealth that is acquired through gambling or unlawful transactions cannot be owned, and the wealth whose acquisition is forbidden by *Shari'ah* such as *Riba* (usury) cannot be owned. One cannot own anything by way of deception or monopoly. Also, there is no freedom of belief, for if the Muslim apostasised he would be killed if he did not repent. As for what is referred to as freedom of expression, Islam has permitted the Muslim to express his own opinion, provided it is not sinful and has also ordered the uttering of the truth everywhere and at all times. In the *Hadith* of Ubada ibn us-Samit (ra), when the *Ansar* gave their *Baya'a* to the Messenger of Allah (saw), he was reported to have said : "**That we would speak the truth at all times and that in Allah's service, we would fear the censure of none**." Islam has also commanded the confronting and the accounting of the ruler with regard to his actions. The Messenger of Allah (saw) said : "**The master of martyrs is Hamza, and a man who stood up to a tyrant ruler to advise him and was killed by him**."

This is not regarded as freedom of expression, but an adherence to *Shari'ah* rules. It is also a permission to voice one's opinion in some cases and an obligation to voice it in other cases. Therefore, Islam contradicts democracy in terms of what is known as general freedoms, for there are no freedoms in Islam except for the freedom that means the liberating of slaves from slavery.

From these seven points alone, the complete contradiction between Islam and democracy becomes clear. It also becomes clear that the rules of democracy are one thing and the rules of Islam are another and that there exists a clear difference between them. Each of them is conspicuously different from the other. Therefore, democracy is other than Islam.

From all that which has been mentioned in these sections, it becomes clear that the idea stating : "That which does not contradict Islam and has not been prohibited by a text can be taken", is false in essence. It becomes clear once the evidences have been closely studied, that the adoption of any rule from other than what the *Shari'ah* has brought is an adoption of a *Kufr* rule, for it is an adoption of other than what Allah (swt) has revealed. Allah (swt) has forbidden us from referring to other than *Shari'ah*, and in addition to His forbidding it as mentioned in the evidences listed earlier, such as His (swt) saying:

فَلاَ وَرَبِّكَ لاَ يُؤْمِنُونَ حَتَّى يُحَكِّمُوكَ فِيمَا شَجَرَ بَيْنَهُمْ

"No by your God, they shall not become true believers until they make you judge in matters that are of dispute amongst them"
[TMQ Al-Nisa'a 4:65]

and the saying of the Messenger of Allah (saw): **"Every action not based on our order is rejected."**, He (swt) has clearly prohibited the adoption of the rule that He did not reveal; for He (swt) addresses His Messenger (saw) by saying :

وَأَنْ احْكُمْ بَيْنَهُمْ بِمَا أَنزَلَ اللَّهُ

"And rule between them by that which Allah has revealed"
[TMQ Al Ma'ida 5:49]

And He (swt) also says:

وَاحْذَرْهُمْ أَنْ يَفْتِنُوكَ عَنْ بَعْضِ مَا أَنزَلَ اللَّهُ إِلَيْكَ

"And beware lest they seduce you away from that
which Allah revealed to you"
[TMQ Al Ma'ida 5:49]

Allah (swt) did not stop at that but went on to censure those who rule by other than what Allah has revealed. He (swt) says :

وَمَنْ لَمْ يَحْكُمْ بِمَا أَنزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُوْلَئِكَ هُمْ الْكَافِرُونَ

"And whoever does not rule by what Allah has revealed,
they are the disbelievers"
[TMQ Al-Mai'da 5:44]

In another verse He (swt) says :

فَأُوْلَئِكَ هُمْ الظَّالِمُونَ

"They are the transgressors"

and in a third verse :

فَأُوْلَئِكَ هُمْ الْفَاسِقُونَ

"They are the wrong-doers"

This indicates the emphasis in abiding by what Allah (swt) has revealed and confining oneself in taking the rules from Him and the absolute prohibition of taking from other than Him (swt). Hence, the adoption of the Western laws and the democratic rules is not only an error, it is rather an adoption of a *Kufr* rule and that is *Haram*, regardless of whether it agreed with *Shari'ah* or contradicted it. In fact, even if the identical rule were adopted, it would still be *Haram* since it was adopted on a basis other than that of *Shari'ah*. Accordingly, that which the Muslims implement in their transactions nowadays according to the Western laws is an implementation of rules of *Kufr*, regardless of whether it agreed with or contradicted the *Shari'ah*. Even if a person were to hire a labourer or rent a house or a car, and conducted the rental transaction according to Western laws, it will be a transaction conducted according to a *Kufr* law. Whereas if he were to conduct the transaction according to the *Shari'ah* rules, this would be *Halal,* regardless of whether this agreed or contradicted the law.

The impact of the cultural and legislative invasion

The regression of the Muslims resulted in the enactment of the constitution and the laws derived from the Western constitutions and laws. This resulted in the adoption of *Kufr* laws by the *Khaleefah* of the Islamic State. Whatever the case may be, the cultural invasion that swept all the Islamic lands and the legislative invasion of the State in the ruling system and the laws unsettled the *Aqeedah* of the Muslims and rocked the Islamic thoughts in the minds of many Muslims. Furthermore, it shook the entity of the Islamic State entirely, and even demolished her substantially although sparing her in form only. This is so because the entity of the State is a host of concepts, criteria and convictions and a group of people bound together by the authority. Thus, if these concepts, criteria and convictions were demolished among the Muslims, the entity of the State would be demolished as well. Their essence, which is the basis upon which the authority is built - or at least forms its foundations, would be demolished even if its frame remained intact. Consequently, the destruction of this frame and the striking of this form would be made easy. Had it not been for this cultural and legislative invasion, the *Kufr* states would not have been able to deal the Islamic State that fatal blow. When the *Kufr* states succeeded in dividing the Muslims through nationalism, especially Turkish and Arab nationalism, in addition to their success in shaking the Muslims' concepts, criteria and convictions and in removing the *Shari'ah* rules and replacing them with the democratic rules and Western laws to which the Muslims referred in judgement and upon which the *Khilafah* became based, they realised that there was nothing left of the State save for the frame

that contained her and the form in which she appeared. Thus, they started thinking about destroying the *Khilafah* and removing her from existence for good. No sooner had the First World War broken out and the Ottoman State had taken part in it alongside Germany, than the *Kufr* states deemed that the opportunity had come to destroy the *Khilafah.* Consequently, they started working towards this.

The attempt at dismembering the Khilafah State

The European states could not imagine that one day the Muslims could be ruled by other than Islam, or that they could rule the Muslims directly, being seen as *Kuffar* in the eyes of the Muslims. Therefore, in order to weaken the *Khilafah* and remove her, their attention was focused on dismembering the Islamic State into Islamic governments who would be under their influence. Indeed, the negotiations which took place in 1915, during the war between Russia, Britain and France, made mention of this. In a memorandum presented to Russia as a reply to her own memorandum pertaining to this issue, France and Britain included one clause which stated : "Safeguarding the sacred places in the Islamic lands and the Arab lands under the rule of an independent Islamic state." And in the Russian memorandum, sent in reply to the Anglo-French proposals, there was a clause stating : "The undertaking of a crucial decision pertaining to the future relations between the Islamic states which you aim at establishing over the ruins of the Ottoman State and at separating them from the *Khilafah*, is a matter that concerns the government of his majesty the Czar." It also added : "The government of his majesty the Czar would wish wholeheartedly to remove the *Khilafah* from the Turks, but at the same time they wish wholeheartedly to secure the freedom of *Hajj* and not to interfere in any little thing that may offend the Muslims." In a telegram listing the Italian demands and sent to the Russian foreign minister, the Russian ambassador to London wrote : "The Italian government supports the opinion of the Russian government about the need to separate

the Islamic government to be established in Hijaz, over the debris of the Ottoman Sultanate, from the *Khilafah* and to place it under the absolute control of Britain. The Italian government support with all its force the removal of the *Khilafah* from the Turks and its total abolition if necessary." All this indicates that the main aim of the Allies was to weaken and remove the *Khilafah*. However, there existed no one from among the Muslims who would have wanted or accepted the removal of the *Khilafah*. Even the traitors from amongst the Arab Muslims who were collaborating with the British, used to call for the *Khilafah* to be with the Arabs. As for the Turks, they were all assiduously committed to the *Khilafah*; their love and their devotion to it was deeply rooted in their souls. Even the Committee of Young Turks was committed to the *Khilafah* and committed to maintaining all the parts of the Islamic State as they were. It was never heard of anyone who wanted or accepted the removal of the *Khilafah*, let alone who would be working towards its removal. Hence, its removal was a tall order even if all the Islamic lands were occupied. Therefore, the Allies concealed their intentions and these were a guarded secret that no one knew of. Instead, they worked towards dealing the Ottoman State a blow from within by undertaking a host of initiatives to make her withdraw from the war and hold a separate peace with her. They concentrated on this idea and started working towards it.

The Allies' attempt at enticing Jamal Pasha

No person was in a position to influence the Ottoman State and make her withdraw from the war or hold a separate peace with her apart from the influential army officers. As for the others, they were not in a position to do anything. As for those traitors from among the Arabs who collaborated with the British and the French, they did not rise to the level of the politicians, nor did their masters - the British and the French, expect them to influence the State. Their task was to act as spies against the State and to carry out acts of sabotage against her. Even the chief traitor, Al-Sharif Hussein ibn Ali, was too weak to have any influence over the State. All that the British wanted, was to use him in acts of sabotage against the Islamic army, the Ottoman army, and in generating a public opinion for them amongst the armed forces, lest the Muslims held feelings of animosity against them and declared on them the *Jihad* which *Shari'ah* commanded, considering that they were *Kuffar*. Therefore, the Arabs were not the Allies' focus of attention during the war in their attempt at making the Ottoman State withdraw from the war, they rather concentrated their attention on the Turkish officers.

From amongst the Turks two officers were known for: Firstly, their hatred for the Germans and their opposition to the Ottoman State's entry into the war as an ally to Germany. Secondly, their ambition to seize power and their endeavour to reach that goal. These two officers were Jamal Pasha and Mustafa Kemal. As for Mustafa Kemal, he was a junior officer with no value whatsoever, although he was clever, ambitious and active

against the State. Whereas Jamal Pasha was in a position to be influential, especially because of the fact that the whole of the Ottoman State was governed by three men : Tal'at, the Prime Minister, Anwar, the war minister and Jamal Pasha himself, the commander of the fourth division and governor of Syria. Hence, the Allies attempted to entice Jamal Pasha. During the Dardanelles campaign (Gallipoli Campaign) and in the wake of its failure, the Allies attempted to contact Jamal Pasha in order for him to revolt against the Ottoman State. This was due to the fact that the British had attacked Istanbul and seized Gallipoli on 25th April 1915; however the Ottoman army had confronted them and halted their progress. Thus they could not advance a single step and they suffered heavy losses to the point that the commander of the allied forces, General Hamilton, was forced to send on 16th August a telegram to Lord Kitchener, the British war secretary, seeking reinforcements and ammunition. Furthermore, on 14th October, the British government dismissed the commander of the Dardanelles campaign, General Hamilton and replaced him with General Charles Monro who was ordered to investigate the Dardanelles campaign. On 28th October, Monro arrived in the Dardanelles and together with the general staff, he studied the situation of the allied forces along the Dardanelles coastline and around the British trenches. He then wrote to the war cabinet recommending evacuation. However the war secretary Lord Kitchener, was disquietened by Monro's telegram and decided to travel to the Dardanelles himself. He arrived there on 9th November and inspected the military positions along the coastline and around the British and French trenches. He came to the conclusion that the allied forces could maintain their positions unless the Turks managed to acquire canons and ammunition from Germany, for this would render the allied forces' position very critical. Then on 1st December, the allied forces suddenly evacuated their positions. It was during this critical period and time of confusion in which they were muddled due to the Dardanelles campaign, that the Allies attempted to contact Jamal Pasha and negotiate with him to rebel against the Ottoman State. It seems that these negotiations did effectively take place and Jamal

Pasha agreed in principle and laid down his conditions. For on 26th November 1915, the Russian foreign ministry sent to its two embassies in Paris and Rome telegram No 6391; to quote from the telegram : "The news reaching us from the Armenian circles in Istanbul inform us that Jamal Pasha is willing to undertake a hostile move against the government of Istanbul if the following conditions were met :

1- That the allied states recognise the sovereignty of the Ottoman State, headed by the Sultan, over the states of Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Arabstan, Kilikia, Armenia and Kurdistan.

2- That the Sultanate is assumed by Ahmed Jamal Pasha and that his sons and grand-sons would assume the Sultanate after him.

3- That Ahmed Jamal Pasha would undertake to proclaim that the present Sultan and his government are prisoners in the hands of the Germans, and to declare war on them.

4- That in the event of Jamal Pasha declaring his rebellion and his march to fight the government, the Allies would undertake to supply his army with the necessary weapons, food and military equipment.

5- That the allied states would offer Jamal Pasha the necessary financial aid till the end of the war.

6- That Jamal Pasha accepts to surrender the straits and Istanbul to the Allies.

7- That Jamal Pasha undertakes to secure a free route to help the Armenians."

This was the list of conditions mentioned in the telegram and it seems that Russia had negotiated with the British and the French, and while

Russia had accepted Jamal Pasha's terms the British and French did not. On 12th December 1915, the Second Chancellor in the Russian foreign ministry sent telegram 6130 to the Russian ambassador to Bucharest; to quote from the telegram : "It is possible to give Jamal Pasha an undertaking about what he proposes and if necessary, we are in a position to secure from the Allies promises to give him what he wants." However, it seems that the Allies rejected this. On 27th December 1915, the Russian ambassador to Paris sent a telegram to his government in which he wrote : "We are in receipt of your telegram No 6391, a copy of which was passed on to Monsieur Brian who expressed a great deal of interest in its contents and he declared that he would present them before the cabinet tomorrow, before it is too late. He also said to me on this occasion that although these conditions are acceptable to us, they however do not agree with the British ambitions and they would reject them."

Then the French retracted from accepting the conditions. On 29th December 1915 the ambassador sent a telegram appendant to his first telegram. To quote from the telegram : "What I learnt is that the French ministers resisted strongly this agreement to the point that they did not shrink from expressing their objection." He added : "What is certain is that the French do appreciate some of your proposals and they are aware of the importance to instigate a revolt within the Ottoman Sultanate. They even believe that this revolt would be very useful to them in the world war. However, they do see in the proposals put forward to negotiate with Jamal Pasha nothing but a fulfilment of your ambitions to seize Istanbul and the straits, without making any provisions for the French sovereignty over the East."

The British later declared their rejection to take part in these negotiations. On 27th January 1916, the Russian ambassador to London sent a telegram to the Russian foreign minister in Petersburg in which he wrote: "Nicholson informed me that having reviewed the issue once again and having closely examined all of its aspects, the British government deem it necessary to

desist from taking part in these negotiations and to relinquish them for good." This indicates that the Allies' idea to make Turkey withdraw from the war and to entice some of the officers to seize power had its roots. They however wanted to dismember the Ottoman State and abolish the *Khilafah*. Since one of Jamal Pasha's conditions was to preserve the unity of the Islamic lands, at least as a federation, and as one of his other conditions was to preserve the *Khilafah*, they rejected his proposal and refused to negotiate with him. It is only natural that they must have undertaken other initiatives.

As for their attempts with the *Sharif* of Makkah, Hussein ibn Ali, these were known, but they would not have served the purpose of making the Ottoman State withdraw from the war, and undoubtedly, they must have made several other attempts with a host of Turkish officers. There is nothing to indicate that other negotiations did take place with anyone from among the Turks, but the British did have their agents within the State, such as Arif Pasha, Damad Farid and others. Before the First World War, the British military attaché had been very active and used to make many moves and contacts, all with a free hand. This military attaché had returned to Istanbul after the cease-fire was signed and he played a major role, together with the commander of the allied forces, in abolishing the *Khilafah*. Hence, it is very likely that he had made several contacts and established links, although none of these came to light.

The rise of Mustafa Kemal

Mustafa Kemal was a little known junior officer when the war broke out, though he was known for his Western thoughts and his rebellion against the Islamic thoughts, and for his inclination towards the British and his hatred for the Germans. It was only after his participation in the battle of Ana Forta that his name became known and celebrated. Since that time, he acquired a wide publicity, his name became celebrated and he became

famous.

In the spring of 1915, at the beginning of the second year of the World War, Germany halted her attempts at seizing the French territories because neither Germany nor France could defeat one another and achieve a decisive victory. The Russians had meanwhile suffered a severe battering, from which they could not rise again and resume their struggle unless the Western states acted swiftly and supplied Russia on a regular basis with much needed ammunition. The Western Allies loaded ships for this purpose but they were besieged in the Mediterranean and could not reach Russia. Hence it became imperative to launch an attack on Istanbul and open the straits in order to allow the ships to enter and supply Russia on a regular basis. The command of the Ottoman army was at the time in the hands of the German General Otto Liman von Sanders. He had assigned the command of one division to the "*Qa'im Qam*" Mustafa Kemal Beik and it was at that time that the Allies' offensive took place.

On 15th April 1915, the British attempted to mount a huge offensive, being adequately prepared for battle. They entered the battle and the British troops managed to reach Gallipoli and succeed in dispersing the Ottoman troops. As a result General von Sanders was forced to dismiss the commander in charge of the battle and he replaced him with the *Qa'im Qam* Mustafa Kemal, who at the time was still a colonel. Mustafa Kemal assumed the command of the Ottoman troops near Ana Forta, one of the most sensitive areas near the Dardanelles. The battle was being waged over a valley with the Turks occupying its peak and the British down below trying to occupy it. The battle went on for several days with neither of the two warring factions gaining the upper hand. The status quo remained with the Ottomans holding on to their positions and the British holding on to theirs as the fighting between them continued.

This went on for several months when suddenly on the night of 15th December, in an atmosphere shrouded in total secrecy, the British

evacuated from the position they had occupied along the coast of Gallipoli. The warships set sail after having been loaded in an astonishing hurry. It was that evacuation that ended the battle.

When the fighting was over, the commander Mustafa Kemal presented the German general commander with his report about the battle. He also presented his watch which had been completely smashed by a bullet, thus missing Mustafa Kemal. When Liman von Sanders received the watch he immediately took out his own gold watch and gifted it to Mustafa Kemal, keeping the smashed watch as a souvenir.

After that battle Mustafa Kemal became a star, gaining widespread popularity among the Ottoman armed forces, for this battle was given huge publicity and was considered a significant victory for Mustafa Kemal over the British. However, Mustafa Kemal used to harbour the idea of not participating in the war, and despite his newly acquired popularity in the wake of the battle of Ana Forta, he still maintained his opinion regarding the withdrawal of the Ottoman State from the war. He was not content to merely carry such an opinion and with his fame among the armed forces and the people, he undertook several attempts at influencing a host of powerful personalities in order to get them to believe in his ideas, although he was met with indifference and vexation. As such, he became the object of suspicion. Despite their faith in his military ability after this battle, no one was prepared to encourage him in meddling in the political matters of the country; rather they used to stand in his way whenever he attempted to effectively take part in the country's politics. He held the British in great esteem; trusting them and believing in their ability and that they would undoubtedly win and that Germany would be vanquished; and this is why he was under suspicion. Indeed even those who became close to him came under the suspicion of the authorities and their surveillance.

Mustafa Kemal works towards the withdrawal of the State from the war and the signing of a peace treaty with the British

What is striking is that Mustafa Kemal returned from the Dardanelles to Istanbul victorious over the British. The victory had its effects on the morale of the Ottoman armed forces and on Muslims all over the Ottoman State. It also had an effect on the Allies. Nevertheless, Mustafa Kemal returned from the battle that he had led and from which he had emerged victorious to arouse people's doubts about the State's ability to fight the British, and to generate the idea of the State withdrawing from the war and signing a unilateral peace treaty with the British. He returned to initiate a domestic battle with the State in order to make her forsake the Germans and side with the British. If before the battle he had held the same opinion, he kept it to himself, but now that he had returned from battle, he started spreading these opinions amongst people, especially the army officers, and attempted to influence the high ranking and powerful personalities. He even started to meet with ministers and talked to them openly of his opinions and attempted to influence them.

On one occasion he visited the foreign minister in his office. The foreign minister at the time was Nasimi Beik, who was from amongst those who suggested that Turkey should enter the war alongside Germany. Nasimi

Beik greeted Mustafa Kemal warmly as the hero of Ana Forta and he talked to him in a courteous manner. His talk was full of graceful optimism, especially in the wake of the victory achieved by the State and her defeat and repulsion of the Allies' armed forces in the Dardanelles. The foreign minister was appreciative of this victory and was aware of the defeat's effect on the Allies, because it meant keeping Russia deprived of the supplies of the war ammunitions she desperately needed, and subjecting France to a German blitzkrieg due to Russia's inability to fight through a lack of supplies, which meant that the Germans would secure the eastern front. The balance of power had tilted in favour of the Germans and the Ottoman State against the Allies. It was for this reason that the foreign minister was optimistic. However, Mustafa Kemal attempted to raise pessimism and to convince the minister of his views. It seemed that he sensed the strength of the minister's arguments, thus he resorted to menace and said to the minister : "You ought to take note of what I am about to tell you! If you allow the politicians to continue affecting you, you will find yourself facing a problem bigger than you and the politicians will have imagined." Upon this the minister was disquietened and said arrogantly : "I do not know what you mean." Mustafa Kemal said : "I mean that the country is heading towards destruction, and now you pretend not to see it heading that way. Obviously you are compelled to say this because of your position as minister; however, your personal belief must be completely different to this. You undoubtedly do not ignore the whole reality, and you are undoubtedly aware of the source of the ailment and where the calamity lies." The minister was stunned. He then turned to Mustafa Kemal and said to him in a sturdy tone : "Colonel! If you have come here to cast your doubts about the country's situation, then let me tell you that this is neither the time nor the place to cast such doubts. You have made a mistake by coming to me, for my fellow ministers and I have total faith in the Commander in Chief; I therefore suggest that you go and see him so that he can dissipate these fears of yours and eradicate the things that are worrying you." He then dismissed him from his office.

The next morning, the foreign minister briefed the Commander in Chief about the conversation that had taken place between him and Mustafa Kemal and urged him to inflict on him the appropriate punishment. The Commander in Chief decided to banish Mustafa Kemal to the Caucasus. He was instantly banished and remained there for over a year without being able to undertake any significant activity.

The meeting with the foreign minister marked the first official endeavour by Mustafa Kemal to lure the State out of the war and to persuade the statesmen, ministers and officers alike, to do so. There was no indication at the time to suggest that he pursued such an initiative on the basis of specific contacts with the British. Thus his action was deemed to be a personal opinion and an exertion solely from his part. By banishing him, the State was rid of this idea. However, a series of events took place afterwards, these being initiated by Mustafa Kemal in order to implement his thoughts by force and to seize power by force, whereupon his treason became manifest.

Mustafa Kemal's conspiracy against the State

As for the first event, this took place while he was in the Caucasus. An attempted coup was staged and it was thought that he was implicated. Major Yaqub Jamil Beik conspired with his friends to topple the government. To quote from what he said to his friends : "Those men who think they are big are in fact small and the country calls for their removal from their posts to replace them with men who have more patriotism and more sincerity." His friends interrupted : "The removal of such men is a simple matter, but could you tell us about the man who in your view could restore the regime to its old self?" Upon this Yaqub instantly replied : "Mustafa Kemal." The conspiracy was later uncovered and Yaqub and his friends were executed. Mustafa Kemal heard of this news during his stay in the Caucasus. Its impact upon him was like a

thunderbolt. The news reached him via Doctor Hilmi Beik, who was an accessory to the conspiracy, but he had managed to flee from Istanbul and go to Mustafa Kemal. The government in Istanbul had ordered Mustafa Kemal to arrest Doctor Hilmi and send him back at once, but Mustafa Kemal sent a telegram to the authorities in which he said : "Doctor Hilmi is as of now under my protection." The government could do little but remain silent, for a confrontation with Mustafa Kemal would have led to adverse consequences. Hence, it became clear to the government and to many personalities within the State and the army that Mustafa Kemal was aspiring to seize power and to withdraw from the war. Thus Mustafa Kemal emerged on the political scene not only with the thoughts that he carried, but also with a method by which he aimed at executing those thoughts. Consequently, he became the object of caution and apprehension.

As for the second event, this took place when the State was defeated in *Ardh-Rum* (Roman land), and Baghdad fell in March 1917 at the hands of the British. Mustafa Kemal's audacity against the State then became clearly manifest and he started openly calling upon the government to withdraw from the war. Circumstantially, the Russians intensified their attack on *Ardh-Rum*, which subsequently fell into their hands. The loss of the fortress could have been curtailed and the authorities would have been able to cover up the scandal. However, the British attacked Iraq and conquered Baghdad, thus the weakness of the State was exposed and her defeat became manifest.

The British had attacked Iraq with an army from India, but the Ottoman army confronted them and halted the British onslaught. They also managed to repel a British relief task force. On 29th April 1916, they forced the contingent of Tomshend that was besieged in Kut Al-Amara to surrender and took everyone as prisoner. However, the British forces heading towards Iraq were greater than the Ottoman forces stationed there, so British military superiority started to be reflected in the battles and the scales

tilted in favour of the British.

In February 1917, the British recaptured Kut Al-Amara. Then in March 1917 they captured Baghdad and continued their march towards Al-Moosil. This caused disquiet within the government and a public opinion calling for the removal of Anwar from the war ministry and his replacement was generated. Even the Committee of Union & Progress, which at the time was the ruling party and of whom Anwar was one of its most prominent figures, was of the same opinion.
Hence, the issue of replacing Anwar at the head of the war ministry by one of the competent officers was discussed. The names put forward to assume such a post under such circumstances were Jamal Pasha, Marshal Izzet and Mustafa Kemal. The post of war minister required experience and shrewdness in political matters. Hence, the appointment of Jamal Pasha or Marshal Izzet to such a post would have been a mistake, for the former had failed in his post as governor of Syria and the latter had no experience in politics. Thus Mustafa Kemal became the obvious choice.

However, it was well known that Mustafa Kemal wanted to topple the government and withdraw from the war. His views on the war were well known. Hence, he was rejected as he used to write to the government warning them against pursuing the war. He believed that Germany had already lost the war politically and that she was no longer capable of winning the war militarily. He also doubted whether the Ottoman State would be able to distance herself from the war, because he deemed it necessary for the Allies to have a passage in the Dardanelles in order to establish a link with the allied countries in the east. On the other hand, Russia used to be considered the archenemy of the Ottoman Empire. All of these opinions were well known and he used to openly declare them. Hence, nobody was ever in any doubt that had Mustafa Kemal assumed the general command of the armed forces, he would have introduced radical changes to the government and its policies. Therefore, the voice of those calling for the removal of Anwar receded and they started

calling for the recapture of Baghdad forthwith.

Anwar approached the German High Command and urged them persistently to supply him with reinforcements in order to recapture Baghdad. The Germans for their part went to great lengths to assist their ally Anwar and keep him in office. One of the measures they undertook was to place General Erich von Falkenhayn and a large number of contingents under his disposal. Falkenhayn built up a new force which he named "Thunderbolt", with Aleppo as its General Command headquarters. Mustafa Kemal was promoted to the rank of General and appointed as the commander of the 4th army under the general command of Falkenhayn.

Mustafa Kemal was averse to the idea of having the general command in the hands of one of the Germans. He deemed any effort to be spent in recapturing Baghdad as futile and that the efforts being made to recapture it were lost and to no avail. He even considered that the undertaking of such an action would lead to fresh heavy losses to the Ottoman army. Consequently, he embarked upon proving to the country the ignorance of those calling for the recapture of Baghdad and the error of Anwar's policies. He also embarked upon outlining the damage that the country would suffer as a result of this crooked policy. Then he started to speak in detail in his speeches about the losses which the Ottoman State suffered because of her capitulation to the Germans. Thus, it was inevitable for him to clash with the German commander. The German commander Falkenhayn, for his part attempted to win him over and pacify him with all possible means but he failed. He allowed him to attend the meetings of the high command.

The plan was to attack Baghdad by land and the Suez Canal by air. By attacking the Suez Canal, the British forces would be unable to reinforce their counterparts in Iraq. However, Mustafa Kemal criticised this plan and attacked it severely, declaring that it was doomed to failure. However,

the Germans disregarded his opposition and his criticism and nobody supported his views except Jamal Pasha, for he held the same opinion. Indeed, they were known to be the two officers who hated the Germans and who advocated the withdrawal of the State from the war. Hence, Jamal Pasha stood by Mustafa Kemal in their discussions with the high command, but the plan remained in process because the Commander in Chief Falkenhayn as well as the other commanders deemed it sound and successful.

Then the causes of the quarrel between Mustafa Kemal and Falkenhayn came in succession. One day, the war cabinet held a meeting to start executing the plans; the meeting was overshadowed by heated debates; Falkenhayn addressed Mustafa Kemal with harsh words and Mustafa Kemal for his part replied in kind. Consequently, Mustafa Kemal tabled his resignation but Anwar rejected it and ordered him to return to the Caucasus. However, Mustafa Kemal did not abide by the order this time and refused to go, thus Anwar retracted and deemed that the best style to get rid of such a bizarre situation and to conceal his rebellion was to grant him an indefinite sick leave. However Falkenhayn did not agree to this leave and suggested the prosecution of the rebel commander before a court marshal. Finally they settled on granting him leave. At the time Mustafa Kemal was in Aleppo. He attempted to leave the city and revealed that he needed money. At that time he owned ten thoroughbreds and wanted to sell them, but could not find a buyer. Upon this Jamal Pasha offered to help him, so he gave him £2000, and sent a further £3000 once he had returned to Istanbul. Therefore by adopting these activities, Mustafa Kemal appeared clearly to be at odds with the Ottoman State regarding her conflict with the British.

Mustafa Kemal's persistence in seizing power

As for the third event, it reflected the fact that the issue was no longer a

mere voicing of an opinion and a mere rebellion, for Mustafa Kemal started to persist in his quest to seize power. He also undertook a host of activities from which one could deduce that he had established contact with the British in order to implement his thoughts.

On 3rd July 1918, Sultan Muhammad Rashad died and he was succeeded to the throne by Muhammad Wahid-ud-Deen, otherwise known as Muhammad 5th. Mustafa Kemal decided that the opportunity had come for him to seize power, for he had just accompanied Wahid-ud-Deen to Germany where they met with Hindenburg. Anwar had sent Mustafa Kemal to Germany with Wahid-ud-Deen, who at the time was heir apparent, so that he could see for himself the might of Germany in the hope that he would change his views.

No sooner had they returned from their trip than the death of Muhammad Rashad occurred and Wahid-ud-Deen acceded to the throne. Mustafa Kemal jumped at the opportunity of having just accompanied Wahid-ud-Deen and attempted to convince him of his views so that he could appoint him the head of the government. He visited the new Sultan on a friendly basis and Wahid-ud-Deen greeted him warmly and courteously. He made him feel welcome and even lit a cigarette for him. This encouraged Mustafa Kemal to speak to him frankly about his views. Hence, he set about explaining his strategy and stressing to him that the devastation threatening the country was imminent. Also that the Sultan should personally assume total control over the armed forces and strip Anwar and the German commanders of all powers in order to become the effective man in charge and not just a nominal Sultan. He also confirmed his readiness to shoulder the responsibility of the High Command, thereby saving the Ottoman State from the precipice over which it was teetering. He also told him that he should rid himself of the German alliance and hold a unilateral peace treaty before it was too late.

Upon this Wahid-ud-Deen asked him : "Are there any more officers who

share your views?" Mustafa Kemal replied : "There are many of them Your Honour." However, Wahid-ud-Deen did not promise him anything. So he met him a second time but still Wahid-ud-Deen did not promise anything. He met him a third time and once again he explained to him his viewpoint. Wahid-ud-Deen listened to him in silence until he finished; then he turned to him and said in a harsh and decisive tone : "I have organised all my affairs in conjunction with their Excellencies Anwar Pasha and Tal'at Pasha." Then he instantly dismissed him.

Less than two weeks later, Wahid-ud-Deen summoned Mustafa Kemal, so he came. The Sultan was surrounded by his staff and some German commanders. Having greeted him warmly, he turned to them and said : "This is Mustafa Kemal Pasha. He is one of the most competent officers that I trust." He then turned to Mustafa Kemal and said : "Your Excellency, I have appointed you as Commander of the Syrian front. It is of a great strategic importance and I want you to go there immediately. Do not let it fall into the hands of the enemy. I am confident that you will accomplish the task and I am delegating it to you to conduct it in the best possible manner and that nearest to perfection." He then ordered him to leave instantly without giving him a chance to speak.

Mustafa Kemal evacuates Syria and surrenders her to the British

As for the fourth event, this was reflected in the fact that when Mustafa Kemal travelled to the Syrian front to fight the British, he instead surrendered the country to them and withdrew to Anatolia. After having been given his orders, he travelled to his headquarters in the Syrian front and arrived there at the end of August in 1918 and he reported to the German High Commander Liman von Sanders, for Falkenhayn had already returned to Germany in the spring. von Sanders greeted him warmly, for he knew him since the days of Ana Forta, and he handed

him the command of the seventh army which dominated the middle part of the line of defence. After assuming the command of the army at the front, he complained of kidney troubles, and he remained bed ridden at the command's centre in Nablus from 1st September 1918. On 19th September the British attack on the front started, so Mustafa Kemal withdrew with his troops back to the River Jordan. He then crossed the river and gathered his troops and headed towards the desert, hastily withdrawing with them alongside the railway line, without pause until they reached Damascus.

In Damascus, the High Commander von Sanders ordered him on 27th September to establish a new defence line in Riaq, so he went to accomplish that task. He then went back to Liman von Sanders and informed him that it would be useless to organise a line of defence in Riaq and that the organising of troops would require ample time. He also suggested that the army should withdraw a further 100 miles towards Aleppo and abandon the whole of Syria, so that they could block the way to Turkey itself in the face of the advancing enemies.

When he suggested this opinion, the German commander said to him : "I cannot issue the order to execute such a plan and I cannot take the responsibility of leaving a large area of the Ottoman Empire as an easy prey to the enemy without giving a last shot." Upon this Mustafa Kemal said : "I take full responsibility." He then issued the order to immediately cease all confrontation with the enemy and to prepare for a general evacuation towards Aleppo, in order to defend Turkey herself. Then he set off towards Aleppo reaching her on 6th October.

During that time the Arab leaders, spurred on by the British intelligence officer Lawrence, asked Mustafa Kemal to use his influence to persuade the government to hold a unilateral peace treaty with the Allies.

At the same time, after Mustafa Kemal's arrival in Aleppo, the movements

of the British warships intensified in the gulf of Iskandaron, and on 14th October three torpedo boats entered the gulf. One of the boats hoisted a white flag and disembarked a small boat that took a host of British and French officers ashore where they met with the commander of the Turkish garrison and then returned; then the torpedo boats left the gulf.

Furthermore, once Mustafa Kemal had set up a defence line ten miles north of Aleppo, he sent a telegram to the Sultan in which he recommended that Izzet Pasha head the government, and he suggested the forming of a new government with the portfolios going to the persons he listed in his telegram while asking for the war ministry's portfolio to be given to him, thus giving him absolute command over the whole of the Turkish army.
He did not receive a reply to his telegram from the Sultan. However, news reached him soon afterwards that Anwar and Tal'at had fallen and that Izzet Pasha had been appointed as head of the government, and also that the members of the new government were those he had mentioned in his telegram. Izzet Pasha also sent him a personal telegram in which he said : "Allah willing, I hope that we can meet as friends by the time the terms of the truce have been signed."

This indicates that Mustafa Kemal went to Syria not with the intention to fight, but in search of a means to carry out his plan once he had failed to persuade Sultan Wahid-ud-Deen of his plan and once he had been banished to the front. His stay in Nablus under the pretext of illness, then his swift withdrawal to Damascus raises doubt and suspicion. As for his withdrawal from the whole of Syria, to leave her an easy prey to the British and violate the orders of the General Commander, it is probable that he did so in collaboration with the British. This is supported by the fact that he had established contact with Lawrence through the Arab chiefs who suggested to him the use of his influence to persuade his government to withdraw from the war and hold a unilateral peace treaty. It is also supported by the fact that he said that he wanted to establish a

line of defence in Aleppo in order to defend Turkey and then turned his back to it and took with him only the Turkish soldiers. It is also supported by the telegram he sent to Wahid-ud-Deen, and finally it is confirmed and established by the personal answer he received from Izzet Pasha and his saying in that telegram : "I hope that we can meet as friends by the time the terms of the truce have been signed."

The capitulation of the Ottoman State

During that time Anwar, who dominated the state, was attempting to rally the remaining troops which had emerged victorious from the many battles they had fought, and to give orders to these troops to return to the capital immediately to face the enemy. But people around him thought that the hour had already passed. Even those who had supported him in the past refused to go along with him and follow his policy. Hence, he was forced to surrender and call for a truce. Thus the Allies accepted and he signed the truce treaty. All that was left was for the negotiations over the terms of the truce. The Ottoman State capitulated and the Allies occupied her.

However, the surrender and this occupation of the State by the Allies did not mean a surrender to the Allies which entailed that the State had become a colony of theirs or one of their properties. Nor did it mean that their occupation was permanent, for this was a war between two states, one would vanquish the other, thus the victor would dictate the terms of peace upon the loser, and the defeated state would remain a state as an entity with domestic and foreign sovereignty. This is on the one hand, while on the other hand the surrender was not a surrender by the state of Turkey, but a surrender by the *Khaleefah* of the Muslims, or according to their own terms a surrender by the Ottoman Empire. Hence the defeated state was the *Khilafah*, and not the state of Turkey. Therefore, the international measures by the Allies, in their capacity as victors, and by the Ottoman State, in her capacity as the loser, were duly measures related to

the Ottoman State, in other words related to everyone who lived under the banner of the *Khilafah*, or pledged their allegiance to her.

The British dismember the Khilafah State

However, since the British aim was to dismember the Ottoman State in her quality as an Islamic State and to abolish the *Khilafah*, they trod the path that led to this and they proceeded in their dealings with the vanquished Ottoman State in a manner different to that proceeded with the vanquished Germany, despite the fact that the two states had fought alongside each other. Indeed the Allied victory over the Ottoman State was similar to their victory over Germany; thus the two states should have been treated equally. However, the British treated Germany as a vanquished state according to international law and what it stipulated in the event of a war coming to an end between two states, with one emerging as the victor and the other the loser. As for the Ottoman State, she was treated differently. For as soon as the war ended she was dismembered into pieces, most of which the British occupied and divided into parts according to the plan that had been devised during the war. They also started to avoid their Allies in order to gain the lion's share in the lands of the vanquished Ottoman State. Then they concentrated their efforts on the *Khilafah's* centre in order to adopt the most appropriate styles to ensure its abolition.

Adopting nationalism and patriotism as a basis for the process for dismemberment

As for the process of dismemberment, the seeds of nationalist tendencies and patriotic chauvinism implanted earlier by the British had by then come to fruition. Thus it was the right time for them to use them as a basis for the process of dismemberment, and they effectively began to do so. Accordingly, they turned the lands inhabited by Turkish speaking Muslims into one single entity and started to use their direct rule and overwhelming

influence to flare up Turkish nationalist tendencies. They tried to evoke the idea of Turkey's independence, meaning her separation from the rest of the Islamic State, or according to them the Ottoman Empire, while defining the word independence with the meaning of getting rid of the Allied occupation. This was despite the fact that the practical reality they were actually pushing people towards was the independence from all the other parts of the State, namely a complete separation. They also broke the lands inhabited by Arabic speaking Muslims into several pieces. Although the British had occupied most of them, they did not keep them as one entity. They rather turned those lands into several entities according to the maps they had drawn for them during the war.

Hence they physically carried out the dismemberment of the conquered State and turned her into several states before holding with her a peace treaty, and before even agreeing with her the terms of peace. For no sooner had they occupied the lands than they divided them into several countries and started ruling them as if they were several states which they had just occupied. This was in violation of international law and contradictory to international conventions, because the occupation by the victorious state in the war of the land of the vanquished state is not sufficient to determine the fate of the occupied state or the occupied territories; what determines this is rather the peace treaty, even if the terms of the treaty were dictated and imposed. The nearest example to this is the fact that although Berlin was occupied for over forty years, her fate was not determined by its occupation but by the peace treaty and the Allies' agreement upon it.

Therefore, by dividing the Ottoman state soon after occupying her lands and soon after she was defeated in the war, Britain committed an invalid act which violated international law. For she undertook that action unilaterally before agreeing terms with the Allies and before signing the peace treaty or agreeing on the terms of peace and not even before the Allies could dictate the terms, assuming that this dictation would have

been valid.

In fact, these countries were all part of the state, for Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Palestine, East Jordan, Hijaz and Yemen were all under the banner of the Ottoman state and part of her *Wilayas*. They had no entity, be it one of self-rule or a state, and none of them had any independent sovereignty, be it domestic or foreign. Therefore, none of her inhabitants had a mandate to conduct any international negotiations. Any international act undertaken by any person from these *Wilayas* with any state would be invalid and could not be recognised and would have no consideration whatsoever. Even Egypt which was under British domination and a British mandate, was considered part of the Ottoman state. When her people, the Egyptian people, were calling for the exit of the British, they were calling for the return of their country under the banner of the Islamic state, the Ottoman state, so that they become once again under the rule of the *Khaleefah* of the Muslims. Mustafa Kamal called for the evacuation of the British and for the return of Egypt as part of the *Khilafah* in Istanbul.

Therefore, any negotiations between the victorious Allies pertaining to any matter related to these lands should have been conducted with the *Khaleefah* and nobody else, represented with the central government in Istanbul. As for Al-Sharif Hussein ibn Ali, he had been affiliated to the *Khilafah* and then he had rebelled. His rebellion should not have given him any rights of statehood. As for those whom Britain and France had considered as Arab leaders in Damascus, Beirut and Baghdad, they were traitors like Al- Hussein and they had no qualification granting them the right to negotiate with the victorious Allies. They were even less worthy than Al-Hussein, not just in terms of influence, but even in terms of how the state, of whom they happened to be her citizen, viewed them. Al-Sharif Hussein was considered a *Sharif* over Hijaz by the vanquished state, whereas they were nothing but individuals who betrayed their *Ummah* and their state and who worked as spies for the enemies.

However Britain in particular, despite her awareness of this, embarked upon negotiating with the locals of the lands she had occupied over the future of their lands and their fate, knowing full well that these negotiations carried no weight internationally and could not be recognised, nor could they be taken into any consideration. However, she did effectively negotiate with them and gave them the right to speak on behalf of their countries with the occupying state. She used this as a means to tighten her grip on the lands she had occupied, according to the plan that she had designed for them and according to the maps which she had drawn up to divide these lands. She then allowed the issue of the official international negotiations to be held with the *Khaleefah*, or with whosoever she would appoint should she succeed in abolishing the *Khilafah*, to take a secondary role, so that they became nominal and so that they could be completed once the peace treaty was concluded. This would enable her to dictate her terms to the *Khaleefah* should she fail to abolish the *Khilafah*. Britain proceeded on this basis, and with this unlawful action. Thus the dismemberment of the Islamic state was carried out by the British.

This was as far as the British dismemberment into pieces of the occupied lands was concerned. As for her avoidance of the Allies, although it does not concern the Muslims, these manoeuvres were used by the British as a style to help them undertake several moves aimed at abolishing and destroying the *Khilafah*. Hence it is imperative to draw attention to these actions in order to comprehend the British political manoeuvring.

The Allies entered the war for different objectives, and although they fought on the same side, they were however at odds with one another, competing with one another and hateful of each other. Each state used to secretly scheme against the other. Britain was at the time the leading power on the international scene, with France, Russia, Germany and Italy competing with her. When she entered the war against Germany and the Ottoman State she attempted to entice the other countries to take part with her in the war or at least to hold out until the end of the war. To this

end she used to make secret deals with the major powers to tempt them with the abundant spoils which they would share once victory was achieved. Hence, she promised to Italy, in the secret agreement signed in London on 26th April 1915, the Turkish district of Antalya and the surrounding districts along the Mediterranean as a reward for entering the war.

A year later in 1916, Britain, France and Russia agreed on the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement to divide the Ottoman Empire. It was on the basis of this treaty that the peace terms were later agreed with Mustafa Kemal. However, this secret treaty was not revealed to Italy, who was kept in the dark for a while until she got wind of it. Thus she was angered and started calling for the dividing of the spoils and the fragmentation of the Ottoman Empire.

On the 27th April 1917, Britain, France and Russia took part in the signing of a treaty which they had drafted themselves. Italy was promised in the treaty the district of Izmir and all the western side of Anatolia up until Konya, provided that these estates would be governed by an Italian mandate. The treaty also contained other clauses. No sooner was the war over than Britain rushed to occupy Istanbul and all the Arabic speaking countries. France for her part rushed to occupy what they had agreed upon, so she occupied Lebanon and Britain attempted to stop her from occupying Syria, although France succeeded in occupying her in 1920.

In 1919, Italy occupied the city of Antalya and the surrounding estates; thus Britain turned a blind eye; however she did object to Italy's occupation of Izmir. She together with France confronted Italy and prevented her from occupying Izmir and the western coastline of Anatolia, under the pretext that the treaty granting those colonies to Italy had not been signed by Russia. Hence Britain and France considered this treaty null and void. In order to resist Italy, Britain inspired Greece into occupying Izmir on behalf of the Allies. She initiated a host of manoeuvres which lasted for

four years until she managed to achieve all she had wanted, that is, taking the lion's share, abolishing the *Khilafah* and dealing Islam a fatal blow in the international arena. Finally she held the 2nd Lausanne conference and achieved what she had internationally set out to achieve.

The British concentration on the Khilafah's capital to abolish her

As for the concentration of their efforts on the centre of the *Khilafah* in order to adopt the styles which would lead to its abolition, the British had, in addition to their manoeuvring against their Allies and in addition to their efforts in the lands they had occupied, focused all their attention on Turkey in particular, and more specifically on the centre of the *Khilafah*. Therefore, soon after the declaration of the truce, British warships rushed to seize the Bosphorous and their troops occupied the capital and all the fortresses of the Dardanelles, as well as all the sensitive military areas throughout Turkey. Meanwhile, the French troops occupied Antep, while the Italian troops occupied Bira and the railway lines. The British commander, Harrington was appointed as the Allies General Commander in Turkey.

Therefore, it was the British troops who effectively occupied Turkey and assumed their hegemony over her. France and Italy's occupation was merely nominal and merely to confirm their presence. Hence, contact between the vanquished state, pertaining to the domestic matters of Turkey, and the Allies meant in fact contact with the British. Thus the British managed to play their role in Turkey single-handedly and their Allies had no role and no effect on the Turkish domestic matters.

They also embarked upon a host of political manoeuvres in order to control the *Khilafah* State, or the Ottoman Empire according to them, since the truce was declared. They focused their political game on Turkey

in particular in order to overthrow the government and destroy the *Khilafah*.

To this end, the British set about attempting to plunge the State into political crisis the moment the truce was declared. They accepted from the Ottoman State the truce and they signed its treaty with Tal'at and Anwar, but when they were asked to hold negotiations aimed at agreeing on the terms, they declared that they were not prepared to negotiate with Tal'at and Anwar because they were the ones who had been chiefly responsible for the Ottoman State's entry into the war. Thus they demanded the forming of a new government.

The telegram that Mustafa Kemal had sent from Aleppo and in which he recommended that Marshal Izzet Pasha should assume the Prime Minister's post arrived at that time. Hence, Izzet Pasha formed the government and he sent his special telegram to Mustafa Kemal in which he wrote : "I hope that we could meet as friends once the terms of the truce have been concluded." It is worth noting that for this to happen from Mustafa Kemal and from the Allies simultaneously and on the same subject, could be interpreted as sheer coincidence. However, the events which followed proved that the possibility of coincidence was very remote.

Nevertheless, Izzet Pasha started the negotiations in order to conclude the peace terms. The prevalent opinion was that if a speedy unilateral peace treaty was signed, the country could avoid the stalemate in which she found herself without suffering heavy losses. Some people thought well of the British and believed that they would help them and be satisfied with the Ottoman State's exit from the war and her remaining a neutral State. Thus they attempted to halt the advance of the Allies and prevent them from occupying the Dardanelles. They sought the mediation of Townsend, the British General who had been imprisoned in Kut-Al-Imara, in order to persuade Colthorpe, the Admiral of the British fleet who had just entered the harbour of Modres at the entrance of the

Dardanelles, to halt his advance until they had conducted their negotiations with the Allies. He rejected their plea and they were forced to surrender after they had lost all hope with the British.

The negotiations took place hastily aboard the warship Super which was carrying Admiral Colthorpe, and no time was given to even consult the Allied French forces. Hence, the British held the truce with the Ottoman State single-handedly on behalf of the Allies, and agreement was reached on 30th October 1918. Then the British briefed their Allies the French, but this was after they had effectively occupied most of the important parts of Turkey, leaving France and Italy with a nominal occupation that was just for the sake of taking part.

Just under a month after holding the truce, the British ordered the *Khaleefah* to remove Izzet Pasha from the government and form a new government, because that government was responsible for the decision of Tal'at and Anwar, who should have been arrested and handed over to the Allies, as a clause in the terms of truce stated that those responsible for the war should be handed over. In this way, the British embarked upon generating a series of political crises for the *Khilafah*.

The British attempt to destroy the Khilafah through political and legal actions

It seemed that the British were hoping to generate a radical change in the ruling system by destroying the *Khilafah* and establishing a republic through legitimate and legal means, without having to resort to a military coup or an armed rebellion. So they resorted to purely political styles. Once Izzet Pasha was removed, the *Khaleefah* instructed Tawfiq Pasha to form the new government. Tawfiq Pasha was known to be a British agent. During the rule of Abdul-Hamid he was a civil servant, appointed as ambassador of the Ottoman State to London, where he managed to gain the sympathy and the pleasure of the British. However, when he formed his government, he was an old man in his eighties and unfit to perform the role expected of him. Thus the British were uneasy about his forming of the government.

However, prior to attempting to replace him and bringing a new government, they wanted to dissolve the parliament known as the council of "*Al-Mab'uthan*". This was because that council was elected by people from all over the Ottoman State, namely the *Khilafah* State. Accordingly, it was not a Turkish parliament, exclusive to Turkey. Besides, most of the deputies were from the Young Turks and the Committee of Union & Progress (C.U.P.). In other words the party of Anwar and Jamal, whose views were in favour of maintaining the *Khilafah* and all the parts of the

Ottoman State. Therefore, it would be very unlikely for it to agree to the abolition of the *Khilafah*, or to agree to the severing of the other parts of the Empire from Turkey. They also wanted to generate a political vacuum in the country, and dissolving parliament would help them generate this vacuum. Hence, they were determined to dissolve it. They wanted at first to dissolve it through constitutional means, without having to resort to an intervention from the Sultan in response to their demand. This was when Mustafa Kemal attempted to apply the constitutional solutions and failed. Then the Sultan, in an unexpected move, dissolved parliament by a decree; and this could only be based on a demand of which he was convinced or which he could not afford to refuse.

More specifically, it became imperative for Tawfiq Pasha to gain a parliamentary vote of confidence according to the constitutional rules,and so a parliamentary session to cast that vote was to be held. Mustafa Kemal who had just returned from Aleppo and Adhano, rushed to convince the deputies to give the government a vote of no confidence. He had some friends from among the unionists who represented the majority of parliament. From among those was Fathi Beik who had power and influence. Fathi Beik gathered for him a number of deputies and he initiated a debate with them in an adjacent room, and Mustafa Kemal put forward his proposal, that is, to give the government a vote of no confidence. However, they objected to this, claiming that casting a vote of no confidence would inevitably lead to the dissolution of the council. Upon this he could no longer conceal the objectives he was aiming for so he promptly replied : "And this would be better in the long term, for through this, we can bide our time and prepare our affairs to form the government that we want."

The division bell rang and the deputies made their way into the parliament chamber. But when the time came to cast the votes and the speaker announced the result, the overwhelming majority gave the government a vote of confidence.

When Mustafa Kemal learnt this, he left the parliament buildings and as soon as he arrived home, he telephoned the palace requesting an urgent meeting with the Sultan. Sultan Wahid-ud-Deen was aware of Mustafa Kemal's thoughts and knew about his ambition to seize power. Indeed, he sensed in him some power and thought that he had powerful allies in the army and had influence over the army. Wahid-ud-Deen's main concern was to maintain his throne and he viewed Mustafa Kemal as a threat to him. Thus, when he requested an audience with him he immediately agreed. However, he set the date of the meeting to be on the earliest Friday. Wahid-ud-Deen chose that day because it was the day when the "*Salammalik*" took place, meaning when the *Khaleefah* met with the people who came to greet him. His intention was to get Mustafa Kemal to declare his links with the Sultan and to confirm his loyalty to the *Khaleefah* along with performing the *Juma'a* prayer with him. Then he would take the appropriate arrangements to listen to his talk -which he knew- in private.

Once the Salah ended, Wahid-ud-Deen asked Mustafa Kemal to accompany him to the lounge. The Sultan was deliberately prolonging the meeting and the discussion took one whole hour. The Sultan addressed Mustafa Kemal by saying : "I am totally convinced that the army commanders and officers have a great confidence in you; so would you guarantee to me that the army would not undertake any action against me?" Mustafa Kemal replied: "Your Excellency, I know nothing about the future. But what I can see at the present time is that the commanders do not find any justification to rebel against your throne; I can even confirm to you that there is absolutely nothing to justify your fears." Upon this the Sultan said : "I am not talking about the present time, but I wish to know what is expected to happen in the future." It is not known what Mustafa Kemal replied, but it seems that he talked to him in a way that reassured him, for the Sultan said to him afterwards : "You are a wise commander, and undoubtedly you can influence your colleagues and persuade them to be calm and exhort them to use deliberation."

This special meeting, which no one else attended, caught the imagination of the people who were in the palace, and they tried to find out what it is was about. However, the *Khaleefah* issued on the very day of the meeting a decree in which he ordered the dissolution of parliament, without setting a date for new elections. This decree took everyone by surprise, especially as it was an arbitrary measure with no justification. No constitutional justifications or reasons were given for the dissolution. Hence, people thought that Mustafa Kemal had suggested to the *Khaleefah* to dissolve parliament and influenced his decision, as indeed he had done. This was particularly so as the request for an audience came in the wake of Mustafa Kemal's endeavour to persuade the deputies to give the government a vote of no confidence, for this would have inevitably led to the dissolution of parliament. However, events surrounding the dissolution suggested that the *Khaleefah's* decision had absolutely nothing to do with Mustafa Kemal's influence. This was because it took place on the same day of the meeting and it was very unlikely for it to have been as a result of what was said in the meeting, especially as the meeting was on a Friday, which is a public holiday. Besides, Mustafa Kemal was meeting the Sultan for the first time after the signing of the truce and the end of the war, and no matter how influential he had been, the fulfilment of his request could not have been achieved at such a lightening speed.

Therefore, events indicate that the issue of dissolving parliament had been prepared before the meeting, and that its declaration in such an arbitrary manner indicates without any shade of a doubt that it was based on a matter that was beyond the Sultan's control. One could only deduce that it was orchestrated by the British, for they were directly in control of the *Khaleefah* and the country through occupation.

Nevertheless, the dissolution of parliament caused a major uproar and confusion throughout the country. Rumours spread that the unionists had armed their supporters in order to declare the revolution in Asia Minor, for this was a fatal blow to the unionists. Amidst this uproar, Tawfiq

Pasha disappeared and was succeeded by Damad Farid Pasha who was known as the "English Gentleman" and he also was the Sultan's son-in-law.

As for Mustafa Kemal, he rented a house in Shilly, a suburb of Bira, and lived there as an ordinary individual. He deserted politics and kept a low profile. He used to be seen frequenting some clubs and mixing with people in high society. However, he remained very discreet, his talk did not imply anything in particular and no one knew whether he was with or against the Sultan.

However, the Sultan was aware of Mustafa Kemal's intentions, for he was acquainted with his thoughts and his designs. Hence, he used to fiercely resist him and attack him. He used to say to his entourage that Mustafa Kemal wanted to estrange the Turks from his family and cause animosity between him and the masses in order to remove him. However, Mustafa Kemal's retirement from political activity did not give him any excuse over him. So many people disapproved of the Sultan's hostility towards Mustafa Kemal.

Once Damad Farid had formed the government, and once the British showed their approval of it, the fears of the Sultan increased and he thought that he could not maintain his throne without the help of Britain. Thus he used to see in Damad Farid a major ally and supporter of his. The Sultan and Damad exhausted all possible means to please the British. They established an association which they named "Friends of Britain", and the government backed this association with all means. The British for their part copiously financed it with tempting gold. However, the common people, and the majority of the youth and army officers used to despise the British and to harbour malice against the occupiers.

Therefore, the Sultan and his Prime Minister threw themselves completely into the embrace of the British and they fully relied upon them. The

British had by then appointed a High Commissioner in Istanbul in order to run the political affairs of the country, alongside the British General Harrington, the Commander in Chief of the allied forces. Hence, they started dictating their opinions to the Sultan and manipulating him at will. Consquently, he lost his effective authority and became like a prisoner. The effective authority fell into the hands of the allies, or more specifically in the hands of the British alone, who were represented by the British High Commissioner and General Harrington.

The British endeavour to generate the political vacuum

Furthermore, the British wanted to generate a political vacuum in the country so that they could fill it themselves as they wished. On the surface, they left the political matters of the country to be run by her own people while they pushed their agents into undertaking the political activities. Then they stood behind the scenes and generated in the country turmoil and political instability, in order to highlight the inability of the locals to govern the country, thereby causing a political vacuum. This is so because the vacuum means the inability to act and the inability to persevere; in other words it means that there is a force, but this force does not manifest itself in its appropriate form and with an adequate capability.

The vacuum could either be political, military or strategic.

The political vacuum occurs when the state is unstable, uncoordinated and plunged into disquiet and political instability. It becomes imperative in this case to fill this vacuum by giving the state the power and the ability to function and persevere. Having occupied the Ottoman State, the British confined her to the Turkish region and left her in charge of the country's policies and of looking after the country's affairs.

So a political force in the country was generated, but they undertook a

host of actions designed to prevent this force from appearing in a suitable form and an adequate capability; also to make it unable to shoulder the responsibility of government and unable to persevere. Hence, they went ahead with their trick to dissolve parliament in order to generate disquiet and instability.

They then encouraged people to undertake the type of political activities designed to generate discord and turmoil. Indeed, the dissolution of parliament did cause uproar and disquiet, and people started to sense the State's inability to govern. This led to a group of local men attempting to rescue the situation.

On 29th November 1918, Doctor As'ad, a Yemeni surgeon involved in politics, called for a national conference in the capital, which gathered eight parties and a large number of small blocs to look into the country's state of affairs. Several meetings were held, then the conference broke up without yielding anything.

A group of thirty people from among former ministers and prominent figures was formed as a bloc under the name of "The National Unity". They gathered around the former speaker of parliament, Ahmed Ridha, the founder of the Young Turks Committee, but this bloc did not have any chance of success. The Unionists became remarkably active, but this also came to nothing.

Hence, people used to sense the presence of a state and at the same time, sense its inability to shoulder the burdens of government and politics; those who worked in politics turned into several groups and several individuals. However, there was no coordination and no concord between them. Many attempts were made to undertake effective political work but all of them failed and ceased.

The political vacuum in the country became manifest and everyone could sense it, for there was no assembly to represent the *Ummah*, and to which

the Sultan could refer to for consultation and advice - thereby generating coordination, which would have allowed the Sultan to look after the country's affairs and shoulder the political burdens. There was also no government to get in touch with the *Ummah,* undertaking the actions which would be in harmony with the politicians' actions and with the masses, and shoulder the responsibility of politics and of looking after the country's affairs, and no *Khaleefah* to share people's opinions, coordinate the efforts and generate the political actions. Parliament was dissolved, the government was paralysed and the *Khaleefah* was like a prisoner. Hence, the political vacuum was manifest and it was reflected in the State's inability to function and to persevere, despite the fact people could see the presence of the State and the rulers.

The discord, disquiet and political instability were also manifest, and despite their large number, local politicians failed to fill this political vacuum due to the lack of coordination between them, which arose from the different opinions and interests they had. Debates and speeches alone could not generate a political existence, nor could they fill the political vacuum, unless these yielded a result. The result would be to steer the state towards shouldering its burdens and to make it able to function and to persevere, or to seize the reins of rule and shoulder the full responsibility or to display the ability to function and persevere. To be contented with speeches and political memoranda without yielding anything and to leave the state in such a position of instability and disquiet would be a wasted effort and a spiral motion akin to the spinning of the donkey around the millstone, and its failure would soon become manifest.

Hence, the attempts made by the local politicians and the moves undertaken by the parties failed to bear any fruits. The status quo continued in this horrific political vacuum for six months, between November 1918 and April 1919.

Meanwhile, the British provoked the idea of independence in the country

as being the people's right, stating that Turkey should belong to the Turks, just like America belonged to the Americans, and that a modern state should be established on a modern basis and modern pillars. They espoused that modern Turkey should be based on the people's will, and should be for the people - a Turkey enjoying absolute authority and absolute sovereignty, and one which does not give room to the Sultan's farces.

These thoughts were spread amongst people, especially in Istanbul and amongst the youth and army officers. In order to comprehend the ability of the British to propagate these thoughts and gain support for them one should review what the British had achieved when the Ottoman State was existent, in terms of evoking the nationalist tendencies and the separatist propensities, under the guise of independence. For they managed to influence the Balkans until they generated unrest and disorder, which led to the breakaway of many of its parts from the Ottoman State. Also, one should review what they had perpetrated in terms of provoking the nationalist tendencies and feelings of independence as the separatist propensities between the Arabs and the Turks, until they turned the citizens of the State into two camps. At that time, the only means they had were their slogans and their agents, but one can imagine just how much more they could achieve, once they occupied the country, took over all the country's affairs, and the Sultan and his Prime ministers had become dummies in their hands which they could control at will. Hence, they succeeded in making this idea reach many people.

Mustafa Kemal then resumed his activities, but this time very discreetly, and without attracting anyone's attention. Many people at the time considered him a friend of the Sultan and he for his part never gave the impression that he was plotting against the government or that he was displeased with it. He concealed his movements and proceeded slowly to form a group on the basis of resisting occupation and rescuing the country. However, he confided in the closest people to him and it was mentioned that on one occasion he explained his plan to those closest to him in

Istanbul by saying : "The government is not free in reaching any decision and the Sultan is no different from the prisoner in the hands of the victorious. Hence the centre of the nationalist government should be shifted to the heart of the country, to Anatolia. For in Anatolia, people could be tempted to integrate and participate in the nationalist movement. The nationalist movement could lead to the salvation of the threatened Sultan's throne and to its deliverance from the hands of the occupiers. All efforts must be exhausted in avoiding a clash with the peoples of Europe, for the movement we aim at establishing is a peaceful one and the first thing we ought to attend to is saving the Sultan. I cannot find a good word to say about the government of Damad Farid Pasha. Therefore, I believe that the toppling of this government would be without any doubt a nationalist necessity."

Mustafa Kemal coupled this secret activity of his with his endeavour to assume the general command of the army; however, he was unsuccessful and then he lost all hope, for he was frankly told that he had no chance whatsoever in becoming general commander of the armed forces, nor in assuming any government post; thus he kept silent and did not express any resentment. He continued pretending to be loyal to the *Khaleefah* and to the government and did not undertake any other activity apart from gathering supporters and spreading the idea of independence, stating that independence should be earned rather than being offered, and all the similar ideas which the West, especially the British used to spread.

The British alter the political and legal style

Mustafa Kemal refrained from undertaking any other activity apart from spreading his thoughts and gathering supporters until May 1919, when his turn came and the allies started working in a different style to achieve their objective, i.e that of separating Turkey from the other parts of the Ottoman State, destroying the *Khilafah* and establishing a Turkish republic. This took place once their endeavours to cause a political crisis and place their agents in power through legitimate and legal means had failed. Their actions were political, international and revolutionary. What prompted them was Italy's persistence to seize Cilicia as part of her spoils. Hence, Britain realised that as long as she does not operate from within Turkey proper against the allies, she would not be able to execute her plan in Turkey and chase her opponents, France and Italy, from Turkey's strategic positions. Once Italy had occupied the city of Antalia and the surrounding estates in April 1919, and once she had occupied Fayum, which was part of Yugoslavia, she attempted to occupy Izmir on behalf of the Allies. Britain and France opposed her move and decided to confront her and prevent her from occupying Izmir or the western coastline of Anatolia. Then they started objecting to her occupation of Antalia arguing that this would give her control over the eastern side of the Mediterranean. The treaty that had been signed between Britain, France, Italy and Russia, endorsing Italy's occupation of Izmir and the western coastline, was considered null and void because Russia had withdrawn form the war and never signed it. They then laid their plan for Greece to occupy Izmir.

They set about executing this plan on the one hand. On the other hand, Britain simultaneously claimed that disturbances had broken out in Anatolia, inside Asia Minor, and that robberies, looting and pillaging had become widespread and that it was on an alarming increase. She claimed also that the security forces had been roaming the country aimlessly, streesing that law and order must be observed and that a heavy handed approach was required to deal with those who breached security. Hence, Britain demanded from the government in Istanbul to send a strong man to the eastern provinces and assign to him the task of restoring law and order and re-establishing the government's authority.

She also unofficially recommended Mustafa Kemal to assume this role. The war ministry was approached pertaining this issue and Jawad Pasha, the Senior Adviser at the war ministry, approved. He knew nothing of Mustafa Kemal, but the war minister was suspicious of Kemal's intentions, for he was aware of his plans. Nevertheless, he immediately agreed and broke the news to Mustafa Kemal, who replied that for a speedy investigation to be carried out and for the appropriate measures to be executed while unrest was rampant in the eastern provinces, this would inevitably require that he be given wide powers and for his decisions to be binding. The ministry agreed to all his demands.

Mustafa Kemal had been up until then silent and calm. No one knew that he harboured feelings of hostility towards the Sultan and the government, for he used to gather supporters in total secrecy. His eagerness to acquire wide mandatory powers led him to reject the instructions handed to him at first. He reviewed them and wrote them anew in a format designed to achieve the goal he was aiming for. Having reviewed the instructions, he then presented his own format to the Prime Minister who signed it without checking them. He then took them to the war minister who at first hesitated and then signed. Copies were dispatched to the British High Commissioner, to Harrington, the General Commander of the allied forces, and to all the officers of the allied forces.

What is worth mentioning is that Britain alone was the only country to show excessive concern and desire to quell the unrest. As for France, she never expected the breakout of any alarming disturbances in this vanquished empire, hence she did not pay them any attention.

Nevertheless, once Mustafa Kemal was given his instructions, and once he had secured all the mandatory powers he had wanted, he set sail for Anatolia and left Istanbul on 15th May aboard the small ship Anipoli, hoping to reach Samsun via the Black Sea.

The British contrivances to allow the Greek occupation of Izmir

Meanwhile, in the second week of April 1919, the Ottoman government was briefed that according to the seventh article pertaining to the terms of the truce, the allies were about to carry out their occupation of Izmir, and that according to this article, they reserved the right to execute this whenever their interests were threatened. Therefore, the Prime Minister Damad Farid Pasha gave his instructions to the *Wali* of Izmir. He emphasised the need to keep the armies inside their barracks and forced him to ban by force any demonstration which the locals may hold.

On 14th May 1919, the British fleet was seen inshore around Izmir. The commander of the fleet, Admiral Colthorpe, told the *Wali* to be ready for the allied forces who were about to disembark. Then he summoned the *Wali* to meet him. When he arrived he said to him : "I have just heard that it will be the Greeks who will be disembarking and occupying Izmir." The *Wali* was devastated and looked at the Admiral in disbelief. He could not hold back the tears, so they started flowing profusely and he said with a lump in his throat and in a voice expressing humiliation and dejection : "The Greeks! The Greeks have come to occupy Izmir?" The Admiral replied : "These are the orders I received from Paris." The *Wali* said : "I

am not responsible and I cannot predict what will happen." The commander said to him : "It is impossible for other than the Greeks to occupy Izmir. Do you understand?" Upon this the *Wali* said to him : "I only need three hundred of your soldiers to reassure the Muslims and to prove to them that the occupation is carried out by the allies and not the Greeks, and that this occupation is temporary rather than permanent." The Commander replied : "Impossible." Then he ended the conversation.

In the morning of 15th May 1919, on the same day Mustafa Kemal left Istanbul, as a delegate of the British and the Ottoman government to quell the disturbances in the eastern provinces, the Greek soldiers started disembarking on the quay of Izmir's seaport. All of the Greek community was out in force to greet them, and their excitement was hard to describe. They started chanting and the Greek forces roamed the streets of Izmir. As for the Turkish armed forces, they rushed and hid in their barracks in compliance with the strict instructions issued to them by the Prime Minister. However, the Greek community and the Greek army were celebrating and roaming the streets in a provocative and defiant manner; but despite this the locals of Izmir and the Ottoman army in Izmir showed restraint.

However, no sooner had the Greek armed forces reached the government buildings, than a single bullet was fired. No one knew where the bullet was fired from, but what was certain is that it was deliberately fired to provoke the Greek army. Hence, no sooner had they heard the bullet than they froze. They then started showering the Ottoman soldiers and the people of Izmir with a hail of bullets, killing and injuring scores of people. Some locals started defending themselves and as a result disturbances broke out and chaos spread. The Greek soldiers seized this opportunity and quenched their burning desire for revenge. They poured out their hatred and quenched their thirst for shedding the Muslims' blood. They started provoking the officers by spitting in their faces and forced every Turk to stamp on his tarboosh with his feet, and those who refused were instantly cut to pieces with their swords in a horrific savagery. Then

they started removing the *Hijab* from the Muslim women's faces, and those who refused to remove their *Hijab* were instantly killed. They also started pillaging Muslim homes, using all types of humiliation and all styles of provocation. This was without any doubt not normal, but rather a deliberate move designed to carry out a premeditated plot.

While these savage crimes and horrific provocations were taking place on 19th May 1919, the ship Anipoli anchored in the seaport of Izmir between the British fleet and the Greek ships, and Mustafa Kemal disembarked and entered the city. Mustafa Kemal had set sail from Istanbul on 15th May aboard the ship Anipoli in the hope of reaching Samsun via the Black Sea, but instead of going to Samsun, he went to Izmir.

It seemed that the government got wind of this, for on the eve of 16th May 1919, in the middle of the night on which Mustafa Kemal had set sail from Istanbul, the Prime Minister Damad Farid Pasha requested an urgent meeting with a representative of the British High Commissioner and explained to him that the Sultan had changed his mind about sending Mustafa Kemal to the eastern provinces, because news reached him that Mustafa Kemal intended to incite unrest in the inner provinces - thus his trip would have to be aborted at any cost. They gave him the impression that orders would be issued to intercept him and force him to come back. However, they did nothing and Mustafa Kemal pursued his trip aboard the ship until he reached Izmir on 19th May, and that was during the height of the Greeks' defiance and provocation.

As soon as he arrived, he gathered the Walis and informed them that he was about to take certain measures against Greece and that those measures had been approved by the government. Then he started to vilify the Greeks, gather the military and civilian leaders and address them to urge the masses to prepare for nationalist demonstrations, while warning against the harming of Christians and stressing that these demonstrations should be peaceful. To quote from what he said to them :

"By Monday, you will have finished organising a nationalist demonstration, when a huge gathering encompassing the largest number of inhabitants will have been held and where the fiery speeches will have been delivered. The main aim of these speeches is to evoke the nationalist feeling and highlight the vigour of the Turkish people. We want our demonstrations to provoke the sense of injustice among the Allies and make them feel the oppression that has befallen us. I am absolutely certain that our peaceful nationalist demonstrations will prompt the nobles from among the British and the Western dignitaries to put an end to this shameful interference in our most sensitive national affairs. The demonstrations must take place all over the *Wilaya* and impressive telegrams must be sent to the major powers and to the Sublime Porte, and I warn you unequivocally against allowing anyone to cause any trouble by harming the Christians in any way whatsoever. Our demonstrations must be nationalist and peaceful."

Then he started showering the authorities with a series of harsh telegrams sent by the locals, of which was a telegram stating : "The country is in danger", and another stating : "The central government is no longer capable of carrying out its basic duties", and another stating : "We can only preserve the independence of our country by the determination of the nation and the efforts of the nations." One of the harshest telegrams was the one sent to Istanbul from the strategic military port of Sinub, in which the masses expressed a huge uproar. To quote from the telegram: "The Turkish nation cannot be destined to live with a government which Europe controls at will and to which it dictates whatever she wishes."

Mustafa Kemal takes the first step in his rebellion against the Khilafah

As a result of this telegram, the *Wali* of Sinop was dismissed from his post and telegrams were exchanged between the Prime Minister, acting on behalf of the Sultan, and Mustafa Kemal, with the Sultan insisting that

Mustafa Kemal should return immediately. However, Mustafa Kemal refused and sent a telegram in which he said : "I shall remain in Anatolia until the country's independence is achieved." This flagrant refusal was the first step towards the rebellion; and he went on gathering people and roaming about Anatolia until he had flared up the rebellion.

This is how Mustafa Kemal started his rebellion which ended in the abolishment of the *Khilafah* and the severance of Turkey from the other parts of the Ottoman State, or according to the Westerners, the destruction of the Ottoman Empire. From these events alone, one can conclude without any shade of a doubt that it was the British who had initiated everything to flare up this rebellion, and that it was they who had sent Mustafa Kemal to carry it out. For it was they who claimed that there had been disturbances in the eastern provinces, it was they who demanded that Mustafa Kemal should go to quell the disturbances, it was they who inspired the Greeks to occupy Izmir, under the guardianship and protection of their fleet, and to carry out such provocations. Also it was the British who had brought Mustafa Kemal to Izmir, despite the Ottoman authorities' pleas for him to return, and who paved the way for him to immediately take advantage of those provocations and start gathering people around him. These events speak volumes and indicate most conspicuously the conclusive truth which everyone can put their finger on.

Britain backs the rebellion of Mustafa Kemal

Despite all this, had the British afterwards left Mustafa Kemal to pursue the rebellion he had started by himself, he would not have been able to take one further step towards the objective which he later achieved. This is so because even if it had been possible to find anyone in Turkey who would have agreed to the severance of the Arabic speaking Islamic lands from the Ottoman State and who would have been contented only with the Turkish lands, it would have been extremely difficult to have come across anyone who would have consented to the abolishment of the *Khilafah* or agreed to it, apart from Mustafa Kemal and some individuals whose number did not exceed a handful. The general consensus was in favour of maintaining the *Khilafah*. The love of the *Khilafah* and the loyalty to her were deeply rooted in the hearts of people, and whenever the phrase of "*Badshahin Tajuk Yasha*" was mentioned, a chord in every single Turk was touched, and his strongest emotions were evoked. Hence, it would have been inconceivable for any representatives of the *Ummah* to have decided to abolish the *Khilafah*.

However, the styles adopted by the British and their continuous support of Mustafa Kemal and the activities he pursued, helped Mustafa Kemal achieve these results. While instigating this rebellion, Britain was preparing for an international manoeuvre in order to reap the fruits of the rebellion. So she launched a wide propaganda campaign for it and hyped up its news in an attempt to raise the allies' fears about Turkey.

Reports destined to Istanbul sent by the westerners and the officers accumulated, replete with the description of the major uproar which mushroomed in Anatolia and of the nationalist feeling which had erupted. At the same time, the telegrams and the press agencies started to cover the news of the rebellion in an exaggerated manner. Meanwhile, a peace conference in Paris with the participation of the allies was called for. Britain seized this opportunity to squeeze into the working agenda of the conference the news of the disturbances which Mustafa Kemal had instigated, in order to kindle rancour in the hearts and urge the imposition of tough conditions.

France however was aware of the fact that those actions were fabricated by Britain, hence, she dismissed the news of Mustafa Kemal's disturbances and even went a step further when she attempted to win over the government of Damad Farid Pasha. Thus she led him to believe that she was not angry about this rebellion, and when she learnt of his intentions to come to Paris personally to seek the allies sympathy and win them over, she rushed and placed an ironclad at the disposal of the Ottoman delegation, headed by the Prime Minister, who wanted to attend the peace conference in Paris to air the views of the Ottoman State, before a decision on her fate was taken.

However, Britain objected to this and expressed concern over the French enthusiasm towards the Ottoman government. At first Britain attempted to prevent Damad Farid Pasha from attending, so he pretended that he had wanted to accompany the delegation but his poor health prevented him from doing so. He eventually travelled aboard a British ironclad.

The Paris conference laid down some very tough conditions, and it was Britain who adopted those decisions and championed them. Lloyd George delivered a speech at the Guildhall on 8th November 1919 in which he said : "The peace terms have been fully approved by the allies, especially those terms concerning the Ottoman Empire, and the whole

of Europe unanimously agrees that the evil and rotten Ottoman rule must be eradicated from the lands inhabited by the Greeks, the Armenians and the Arabs. The seaports situated along the Black Sea and the Mediterranean must be opened for all nations." However, France and Italy were averse to the treaty. Nevertheless, Britain's enthusiasm towards those terms were not with the aim of implementing them, but rather to use as a means to threaten the Ottoman State and to incite the Turks against the Sultan so that they sided with Mustafa Kemal. That is why she was later the first to call for a conference in London in order to cancel the treaty. The conference was effectively held in February 1921.

The first phase in Mustafa Kemal's rebellion

Nevertheless, the rebellion continued with ebbs and flows, and the British were forced to come to Mustafa Kemal's rescue whenever he was about to fall. The rebellion was at first successful, for the young officers joined Mustafa Kemal and declared their readiness to follow him. Some of the high ranking officers also joined him, but on condition that he would not undermine the *Khilafah*. Once the officers joined, thus gathering a considerable force, he immediately wanted to set up a government. Hence, he invited Rif'at Pasha from Sivas. Rif'at Pasha had been seduced by the Western thoughts and was a great admirer of the Europeans. Mustafa Kemal also invited Ali Fuad, the army commander of the Ankara region, who was a brilliant military academic and one of the shrewdest politicians. Ali Fuad was also accompanied by Rif'at Pasha who had resigned from the Naval ministry.

A meeting between the officers was held with a secretary assuming the role of writing the minutes for the delegates. Mustafa Kemal expressed his viewpoint and explained his opinions. Everyone agreed with him that resistance was the only hope. Hence, they designed a strategy to be executed, which was summarised as multiplying and organising the militias facing Izmir, in order to hinder and thwart the advance of the Greek forces. Then building up from these skirmishes, they would restructure a strong and unified national regular army, on the ruins of the divided armies.

It was also necessary to design a strategy aimed at leading the resistance; thus they agreed that Fuad would assume the command of the troops in the west, that Kathim Qura Bakir would assume the command of the troops in the east and Mustafa Kemal would command the troops in the centre.

Mustafa Kemal then went on to say : "The central government and the Sultan are under the influence of the enemies, hence, we ought to establish a temporal government here in Anatolia." No sooner had he finished saying this than everyone flinched and expressed anger and resentment. Ra'uf expressed his opposition to the undertaking of any measure that could upset the Khaleefah or his central government. All the others also opposed Mustafa Kemal and said to him as long as he was serving the country and sacrificing in the way of the country, and that although they had trust in him, their only condition was that he refrained from undertaking any action that would undermine the Sultan's rights or impair his feelings. They also stressed to him that the *Khilafah* should be above everything else and that the Sultanate should not come to any harm.

In the face of this consensus and this persistence Mustafa Kemal was forced to back down and agree to the people's opinion. Hence he declared that the *Khilafah* would not come to any harm and he gave them all the guarantees they wanted. Then the rebellious activity started.

However, since the rebellion was to the majority of those who joined Mustafa Kemal a rebellion against the allied occupiers, and only nominally against the Sultan, and since it was in reality for Mustafa Kemal and a fistful of his supporters a rebellion against the Sultan, Mustafa Kemal was forced to conceal his intentions and gave his assurances that he would not harm the *Khilafah*. Therefore, clashes with the allies were inevitable. At this juncture two strange incidents took place :

The comedy of occupying Samsun

The British declared that they were determined to fortify Samsun with a stronger garrison to prevent the rebels from reaching it by sea and seizing Sevas. Mustafa Kemal ordered Rif'at to defend Samsun at any cost. He ordered him to stand up to the British and prevent them from disembarking their troops. Hence, Rif'at obeyed and headed towards the seaport accompanied by a hundred Muslim men. A British colonel had reached the seaport with a small force. However, Rif'at and his troops entered the city and encountered this force but no fighting took place between them. Then the British colonel and those with him returned to the British ship that was anchored in the port and left. Then it was declared to everyone that the British force had become scared and that its commander realised that it was hopeless to resist so he retreated; thus they declared that Samsun was salvaged from the British occupation and that Sivas remained in the hands of the local people.

Mustafa Kemal's rebellion adopts the character of armed struggle

The second incident occurred with the Greeks. The British were preparing the Greeks to engage the Turks in a host of skirmishes, which could evoke the fervour of the locals. The British were reluctant to allow British blood to be shed for this purpose since there was another blood that could be shed in order to achieve it's aims; thus the Greeks were chosen as the scapegoats in these battles. The elaboration of this event was as follows : The Greeks would not settle for staying in Izmir and the governor of Izmir violated the instructions given to him to remain in Izmir; thus the Greeks moved to seize the neighbouring areas. The Greek commander heading his troops, marched towards the district of Aideen, and as soon as the army moved, a hail of bullets rained down on them repeatedly. Accordingly, the Greek troops were shocked and panic stricken, and they

lost their composure. They opened fire on the civilians, and the Turks replied in kind. As a result of this random fighting, the Greeks were vanquished and the Turks forced them away and set fire to the Greek district. The Greek army came back once their numbers had risen and once their military preparations had increased, and they in turn occupied the city and set fire to the Turkish district. Then they started savagely killing the civilians in order to reduce the number of Turks in order to become the majority in Izmir. As a result, every Turk who was able to fight took up arms, headed for the hills and started fighting the invaders. This guerrilla warfare went on sporadically. The feeling of resentment towards the British and the Greeks was triggered as a result, and the officers started rallying under the banner of Mustafa Kemal, and he for his part started sending them to the villages to kindle their fervour. The news of this was magnified and relayed to the capital and the British feigned their protest to the Sultan. The Sultan's telegrams sent to Mustafa Kemal and his summons were to no avail, for he flagrantly displayed his disobedience. In response, the Sultan ordered his dismissal and issued orders to all the military and civilian authorities to disobey Mustafa Kemal's instructions. News of his dismissal was broadcast all over the country and the Sultan struck off his name from the list of army officers and threatened anyone who contacted him with summary dismissal. Upon this Mustafa Kemal issued his instructions to the army officers, stating that in case they were dismissed, they should not stop working, provided they told the Sultan that the newly appointed officer did not gain the confidence of the army nor that of the people, and thus he remained unemployed. Mustafa Kemal continued for weeks to exhort the masses to rebel, and to exhaust all of his efforts to foil the governmental measures and to resist all of its moves.

The Ardh-Rum conference

On 23rd July 1919, several men gathered in a tiny building similar to a

village school, in a remote district of Mesapotamia. Those delegates were the deputies of the eastern provinces. They were of a strange mixture. Among them were former deputies, *Sheikhs*, senior civil servants, Kurdish tribal leaders and officers. The conference opened in the name of the *Ummah*, and the first item in the agenda was the issue of chairing the conference. One of the delegates stood up and said : "Could the honourable delegates give their opinion on whether Mustafa Kemal would be suitable to chair this meeting?" knowing that he had never in his life been a deputy over any of the eastern provinces. The deputy was abruptly interrupted and Mustafa Kemal was voted with an overwhelming majority as chairman of the conference. The conference lasted fourteen days and the discussions were conducted in a disorderly and agitated manner. A host of resolutions were adopted then the conference was wound up. Some of the resolutions were as follows :

"The *Ummah* is a unit that is not subject to fragmentation or division, and all the eastern *Wilayas* are determined to resist any type of occupation and to stand up to foreign interference. If the Istanbul government refused to side with the people and to protect them from the foreign invasion, there will be no other option but to call for another interim government to shoulder the running of the country's affairs, now that the situation has reached this critical point."

The delegates also declared unequivocally that they were still loyal to the *Khalifah* Wahid-ud-Deen and that his *Baya'a* was still on their necks. It had also been decided to establish an apparatus which was named the "Executive Parliamentary Committee", and whose task was to execute the resolutions adopted by the conference. Mustafa Kemal was elected as Chairman of this committee and the resolutions were immediately broadcast to the *Ummah* and copies were despatched to the European countries. Then it was decided to hold the conference of Sivas.

However, when the Istanbul government learnt of the "*Ardh-Rum*"

conference, it issued a communiqué which it circulated to all the newspapers; it was also reported by newspapers world-wide. To quote from the communiqué: "Some disturbances took place in Anatolia, during a host of meetings aimed at breaching the system and flagrantly violating the constitution. It was claimed that those meetings were constitutional and parliamentary, but in fact they were not parliamentary. Therefore, all the military and civilian authorities should put an end to this movement completely and crush those rebels in the severest of manners."

These government leaflets reached the authorities in "*Ardh-Rum*", and they replied to the Astana government by saying: "The holding of parliamentary sessions has become a pressing necessity, and if parliament were held, there would be no need for these types of meetings."

The government pondered over its critical situation and realised that its dissolution of parliament was unconstitutional and that it had not made provisions for fresh elections. However, it set about undertaking a host of urgent and decisive measures in order to quell the rebellion. Hence, it decided to form an army that would only comprise those who had shown genuine loyalty. Then the army was dispatched to Anatolia.

The British prevent the Sultan from sending a task force to quell Mustafa Kemal's rebellion

When the British learnt of this army, they prevented the Sultan, on behalf of the allies, from forming the army, arguing that one of the clauses in the terms of the truce stipulated the disbandment of the troops, and their non-reformation. The Sultan attempted to give himself a free hand in crushing the rebellion but the allies categorically prevented him from doing so. When it is said the allies, it is meant in this context the British, for they dominated the country and it was the British High Commissioner and his office, together with Harrington, the Commander in Chief of

the allied forces, who used to act on behalf of the allies.

When the Sultan realised that the allies were adamant in their refusal to allow him to send a task force to quell the disturbances, he requested their opinion as to who would be able to put an end to the disturbances. He strongly persisted in his request, until they answered him by saying that they were taking a neutral stand and that it was beyond their competence to interfere in Turkey's domestic affairs. They told him that he alone was responsible for maintaining law and order if he wanted to rule over the country.

Damad Farid Pasha felt let down by the British and the Sultan resorted to using his own means, so he plotted to have Mustafa Kemal arrested while on his way to Sivas from "*Ardh-Rum*", but the plot failed because Mustafa Kemal was informed of the plot and managed to take precautions and change the time of his journey. The soldiers gathered to arrest him but failed to find him in the place designated to them, for he had reached Sivas before then.

The Sivas conference

Thereupon the Sultan asked Ghalib Beik, who was one of the Sultan's greatest supporters, to head some of the Kurdish tribes and invade the city of Sivas, and arrest all the members of the conference. However he failed. The members of the conference had arrived to Sivas from all over Anatolia and the conference was held on 4th August 1919 and was chaired by Mustafa Kemal. However, his chairmanship was subject to objection. Shortly before the conference began, Ra'uf Beik, who was one of Mustafa Kemal's closest friends, came to him and said : "We have looked into the chairmanship of the conference and consented that you should not accept it no matter what."

When the conference was convened under Mustafa Kemal's chairmanship, some stood up and objected to his autocratic actions, for he had appointed himself chairman of the conference without a ballot. Upon this Mustafa Kemal stood up to defend himself. To quote from what he said : "We are not today in conferences which allow us to fight and dispute with each other, otherwise the star of the Empire would eclipse and her influence would be inevitably obliterated." This emotional talk had its effect and his supporters stood to applaud and cheer him; then everyone kept quiet over his chairmanship. When the vote was taken, it was announced that Mustafa Kemal had gained a majority.

No sooner was Mustafa Kemal elected chairman than he stood up to deliver a speech. He started by clearly voicing his loyalty to the Sultan, then the sessions of the conference started and went on for several days in an atmosphere of clamour, heated debates and a great deal of whispering. Then several objections surfaced and one of the deputies stood up to say : "The Executive Committee of the conference had no right to claim that it is the government; and what would they do if the Europeans interfered in the affairs of Anatolia and occupied it all? Where would they find the funds to pay the expenses of the troops and the salaries of the employees?" Another deputy stood up and said : "The United States have no colonialist ambitions, she is the only state who can save Turkey from the critical deadlock that she has fallen into. The only way that Turkey could follow if she were genuine about avoiding degeneration and extinction would be to throw herself into the embrace of America." Then Ra'uf Beik, Bakr Sami Beik, Kathim Qura Bakir, Rif'at, Ali Fu'ad and the three Pashas stood up and voiced their approval of this opinion and defended it wholeheartedly. Another deputy stood up and said : "The American mandate does not kill off independence. By this we can rid ourselves from the British protectorate; this British protectorate is going to turn Turkey into a humiliated colony and bring her standing down to the level of slavery."

The conference proceeded in this trend, foiling all of Mustafa Kemal's endeavours, and after all these deliberations, the conference adopted a host of resolutions which did not differ from those adopted in "*Ardh-Rum*". However, the conference was wound up with its members angry with Mustafa Kemal. Kathim Qura Bakir Pasha, who was the only army commander to retain his status and not to hand over his equipment to the allies and not to surrender to them, approached Mustafa Kemal and said to him : "The undertaking of communications on your behalf has raised criticism O Pasha, you can imagine, your excellency, the consequences of such an action and of treading such a difficult path. So please, let the Committee from now on speak on its own behalf."

Therefore, Mustafa Kemal was very annoyed when he left the conference. However, he incited the delegates during the conference to defend themselves, for he informed them that Ghalib Beik, who was loyal to the government, had come at the head of some Kurdish tribes to arrest the delegates of the conference. Hence, they demanded a direct contact with the palace but their request was turned down. They were outraged by this and issued an ultimatum to the Prime Minister Damad Farid Pasha stating that if they were not allowed to contact the palace directly within an hour, they would sever all their links with the central government, and they would be free to act as they pleased. The deadline passed in the morning of 12th August 1919, thus they carried out their threat and all links between the deputies and the palace were severed.

Mustafa Kemal seized the opportunity and intensified his activity. He managed to alienate Istanbul from the rest of the country. Since he failed to achieve anything during the conference, and since he could not dare to form a government in Anatolia, he settled for convincing those with him to demand a change of the government in Istanbul. They remained silent and it was not reported whether they backed or resisted such an initiative. Mustafa Kemal deemed that he could not control the army unless the officers were at the head of his supporters, and that he could not subjugate

those who rebelled against him unless he was backed by the army. The army was with the *Khaleefah* and not him. They also made it absolutely clear to him that it would be impossible to do away with the *Khaleefah* no matter what the circumstances were. Hence, he decided to come to terms with the *Khaleefah* rather than with Damad Farid Pasha.

Mustafa Kemal comes to terms with the Khalifah in preparation for a fresh phase

This was on the one hand; on the other hand, news of the Sivas conference reached Istanbul in a different light, as if it were a victory to Mustafa Kemal. This was backed by the conference's boycott of the Istanbul government. Although this boycott was triggered by what the Prime Minister had perpetrated, when he prevented direct contact between the conference and the palace, and also when Ghalib Beik headed the Kurdish tribes to arrest the delegates, this boycott in itself and the success in holding the conference had portrayed events in a different light.

Furthermore, the allies, namely the British recommended to the officials in Istanbul to come to terms with Mustafa Kemal, and amidst this atmosphere, one of Mustafa Kemal's closest friends, from the days of Salonika, and whose name was Abdul-Karim, came forward and proposed to the *Khaleefah* to act as a mediator between him and Mustafa Kemal. He told him that Mustafa Kemal had always been loyal to the *Khilafah* and to the *Khaleefah*, and to him personally. He also told him that he was ready to persuade him to come to terms. In the light of this reflective mood, Sultan Wahid-ud-Deen agreed with Mustafa Kemal propounding his demands to end the rebellion for good. Upon this Abdul-Karim telephoned Sivas and spoke to Mustafa Kemal, who agreed to end the rebellion and demanded the dismissal of Damad Farid Pasha's government and the forming of a new parliament to replace the parliament that the Sultan had dissolved. Accordingly, Sultan Wahid-ud-Deen agreed

to this.

Three days after these telephone contacts had been made, lasting one night only, on 2nd November 1919, Farid Pasha resigned from the government. He talked openly to people and told them that he had been let down by the British, who in the past used to back him, but then they washed their hands of him. Thereupon Ali Ridha Pasha, the war minister, formed the new government. This was regarded as a victory for Mustafa Kemal.

Hence, Mustafa Kemal declared to the *Ummah* through a leaflet that the Executive Committee of the nationalists had recognised the new government headed by Ali Ridha and that it supported him unconditionally. He also praised his Excellency the Sultan for being gracious enough to dictate his honourable ordinance and dismiss the government of Damad Farid Pasha.

However, the Sultan was angered by this leaflet and expressed his disapprobation of Mustafa Kemal's discourse on behalf of the *Ummah*. The rebellion was almost resumed but Mustafa Kemal prevented those inclined to rebel from doing so. The Sivas Committee decided to avoid a confrontation with the government and most of the officers heaved a deep sigh of relief, because the overwhelming majority from amongst them were averse to the renewal of the rebellion and they were all loyal to the Khaleefah.

However, Mustafa Kemal started to stall the dissolution of the Committee, for his aim was to establish a republic and abolish the Sultanate and the *Khilafah*, but he had failed in this phase. Therefore he had to maintain this Committee as a weapon to undertake another attempt. He started to fabricate all types of excuses and pretexts in order to defer the dissolution of the Committee. He was not seeking excuses for not dissolving it, he rather agreed to do so but he was using delaying tactics in order to delay

its dissolution. These delaying tactics angered his supporters and many of them expressed to him openly that the continued functioning of this committee was unnecessary now that the *Ummah* had declared her approval of the government. Some of Mustafa Kemal's supporters and friends, such as Marshal Izzet Pasha, went even further and raised their voices in protest and admonition, demanding vehemently the end of this internal feud and shameful division. They deemed that the continuity of the Committee meant the continuity of the disunity. However, Mustafa Kemal's answer to them was that the new government had to prove first that it was worthy of the confidence given to it by the *Ummah*, and that this could not be established until ample time was given, allowing it to put forward its programme and to practically prove its sincerity. He said : "The point at issue at present can only be the preparation for the new parliamentary elections so that the overwhelming majority becomes that of the nationalist deputies."

This was the first phase of Mustafa Kemal's rebellion and these were its events. It indicates that it was the British who were responsible for prompting and protecting it. The farce of the British attempt to occupy the city of Samsun then their consequent withdrawal from the city was clearly seen as a show aimed at gathering people around Mustafa Kemal. Otherwise, how could the British be incapable of occupying Samsun at that time, while they were sitting heavily on the heart of the Ottoman State and occupying the most impregnable of its areas? Besides, who informed Mustafa Kemal that the British were determined to occupy Samsun, thus allowing him to dispatch Rif'at to prevent her occupation? Were the hundred men led by Rif'at enough to prevent the British from occupying a city such as Samsun had they really been determined to do so? Furthermore, was Samsun really saved from the British occupation due to this force that he had dispatched? Was this not a deliberate farce aimed at making people believe that Mustafa Kemal was against the British and against the allies and that he wanted to expel them from the country? Furthermore, why did the clash with the Greeks take place? The

instructions given to the Greek commander by his government were to confine his operation to Izmir, so why did he overstep these instructions and attempt to occupy the surrounding areas of Izmir? Was it his own initiative or was he instructed by the General Commander of the allied forces? Why did this happen? Was it not to establish militias and give the rebellion the character of armed struggle against the occupiers by fighting the Greeks thus making people come under the banner of Mustafa Kemal to fight the occupying allies? Was this not a prompting and a kindling of the rebellion? If Britain managed to keep a low profile while prompting and flaring up the rebellion, because she had proceeded by twisted means, was her decision to prevent the *Khaleefah* from preparing a task force to quell the disturbances not a flagrant protection and backing of the rebellion? It would have been possible to crush the rebellion in the summer of 1919, and the Sultan had started to prepare a task force but the British, representing the allies, prevented him under the pretext that this was in violation of the terms of the truce which stipulated that the troops should be disbanded. Therefore why this interdiction from preparing a task force to quell the disturbances, even though there was no clause within the truce terms to stipulate that troops should be disarmed and disbanded or that they should surrender their ammunitions? It only stipulated that the Turkish army should be disbanded as soon as possible but excluded the troops necessary to protect the borders and maintain law and order in the country. So where did their claim that the forming of a task force to crush the rebellion was in contradiction of the truce terms come from?

Besides, it was the British, representing the allies, who at the beginning of May 1919 claimed that disturbances had broken out in the Eastern provinces and demanded from the Sultan to send a commander to quell them, and they proposed Mustafa Kemal. Why did they suggest the dispatching of a task force to quell disturbances they had fabricated and which did not exist, and then prevented the *Khaleefah* from preparing a task force to crush a declared rebellion the events of which the world

press and telegrams were covering ? Furthermore, when the *Khaleefah* gave them the option of either assuming for themselves the quelling of the rebellion in their quality as occupiers, or allowing him to prepare a task force to crush it, they replied : "We are taking a neutral stand." So where is the neutrality in preventing the *Khaleefah* from preparing a task force to crush a domestic rebellion which on the surface was against the allies and which clashed with one of their states, namely Greece? Was this a neutral position, or was it a flagrant support and protection of the rebellion?

There is no doubt about the fact that by preventing the Sultan from preparing a task force to crush the rebellion, while the truce terms enjoined the deployment of the necessary troops to maintain law and order, the allies, the British, wanted to protect the rebellion and neutralise the *Khaleefah*, thus preventing him from crushing the rebellion. Nevertheless, the rebellion could not achieve its objective and establish a government to rival the Sultan, thus it was forced to come to terms with him and come under his authority. However, the rebels succeeded in inciting people against the allies and in giving the impression that they had prevented the British from occupying Samsun. Also, their clash with the Greeks helped them to generate the idea of fighting occupation and gave Mustafa Kemal its leadership.

Mustafa Kemal succeeds in gathering people around him on the basis of liberating the country

Therefore, Mustafa Kemal emerged as the winner, because he succeeded in gathering people around him on the basis of an idea that everyone was convinced of, that is the expulsion of the Allies from the country and her liberation from the nightmare of their occupation. He managed to evoke in them the possibility of fighting occupation and of undertaking actions against it. Hence, he became the object of the masses' hope and the army

officers' admiration, although they all harboured doubt about his intentions towards the *Khaleefah*, and they considered these intentions to be against their sanctification, because the post of the *Khaleefah* was to them a sanctity. Hence, people's hope was for Mustafa Kemal to come to terms with the *Khaleefah*, so that the sanctified post of the *Khaleefah* remained intact and so that they could achieve the expulsion of the occupying enemies. This was especially so after sensing through the preventing of the British from occupying Samsun and the fighting of the Greeks, the possibility of resisting the occupiers. Thus they clung to that hope for which they deemed Mustafa Kemal to be its hero, and they could not see in the *Khaleefah* this possibility.

Therefore, all eyes were on Mustafa Kemal. The majority of people could not discern the complexities of political activity and its reaches, and it was difficult for the ordinary man to comprehend them, and also difficult for the military officers if they did not undertake political activities. Hence, they failed to perceive these British games. They were also not familiar with international relations, thus they could not appreciate the British persistence to deprive her allies from the spoils, even if this meant giving them or keeping them in the hands of the vanquished state, so that the international balance of power remained in Britain's favour and so that they remained the leading power. They did not also know that Italy's or France's occupation of any part of the Turkish coastline would undermine the British influence in the east and their forces in the Mediterranean. Thus they did not allow them to take anything. The people also could not discern that Britain did not remove the Italians and the French away by her own force, nor by overt actions, but by inciting others and through manoeuvres and deceit.

Furthermore, none of the Muslims quite realised the extent of the fear in the hearts of all the states, especially the British, of the preservation of the *Khilafah*, which was considered a constant threat to them. Thus the Muslims did not realise the filthy conspiracy which the British were plotting

through Mustafa Kemal's rebellion in order to abolish the *Khilafah* at the hands of the Muslims. As Mustafa Kemal took over the leadership of Turkey to fight the occupiers he was considered to have won the first round.

Mustafa Kemal adopts Ankara as his centre

Having achieved this victory, Mustafa Kemal attempted once again to seize power through legitimate means through parliament. Preparations for the new parliamentary elections were set in motion, but they were on the old basis, namely an Ottoman parliament subordinate to the *Khaleefah's* government. However, the Prime Minister Ali Ridha was weak and he sensed people's drift towards Mustafa Kemal. Thus he deemed it wise to come to terms with him. Accordingly he sent Salih Pasha, the Navy minister to Anatolia, where on 18th October 1919, he held with the Parliamentary Committee a meeting which became later known as the "Amasia Conference". The conference lasted several days and Salih Pasha succeeded in reconciling between the deputies and the government. The first motion to be proposed at the conference and to be instantly agreed upon by the two parties was the "non infringement of the Sultanate and the *Khilafah*". The Istanbul delegate then endorsed all the resolutions adopted at the "*Ardh-Rum*" conference and the Sivas conference. A heated argument broke out pertaining the issue of dissolving the Parliamentary Committee, and after the debate intensified, the issue was left unsettled and it was decided that it would remain suspended until the members of the new parliament could meet to settle it.

Then Mustafa Kemal moved to Ankara to take up residence there and to use it as his centre. Arrangements were made to greet him and on the morning of his scheduled arrival, the local residents were up early and the whole city waited in anticipation. The farmers left their farms to take part

in greeting him and the dervish came out in a large procession, carrying large green banners bearing the exalted Qur'anic Verses. When he arrived people cheered, women shrilled, and chants of *Takbir* and acclaim reverberated; he entered the city as a hero and took up residence.

Fresh elections took place and Mustafa Kemal was elected as a member of parliament for Ankara. Several deputies then flocked to Ankara and held a preliminary meeting to discuss their affairs. During the meeting, a proposal was put forward to convene parliament in the capital and to dissolve the conference now that its members had become official deputies. However, Mustafa Kemal opposed both ideas vehemently and persistently by saying: "The conference must continue until the extent of parliament's adherence to justice becomes manifest and until its policy becomes clear. As for moving to the capital, this could only be regarded as sheer idiocy. If you did this, you would be under the mercy of the Western enemy, for the British are still in control of the country and the authority would interfere in your affairs, and you might be arrested. Therefore, parliament should be convened here in Ankara, so that it remains free and independent."

However, all the deputies insisted that the inauguration of parliament should take place in the capital Istanbul and in the house of parliament, so that they could be there under the wing of the legitimate ruler of the country, Sultan Wahid-ud-Deen, the *Khaleefah* of the Muslims. Upon this Mustafa Kemal kept silent and accepted it. However, he did not go to Istanbul but remained in Ankara. Prior to this, he had held a parliamentary meeting with the Ankara deputies and had given them the necessary instructions. He requested from them to vote for him as speaker of parliament in his absence.

On 11th November 1919, parliament was inaugurated by a speech of the throne then the election of a speaker took place. The deputies refused to elect Mustafa Kemal as speaker and they opted for Ra'uf Beik instead.

Then on 28th January 1920, parliament ratified the national charter known as the famous "Milli Charter", which confirmed the resolutions of the "*Ardh-Rum*" and Sivas conferences. The charter called for the total independence and freedom of all the provinces inhabited by a Turkish majority, including Istanbul and its suburbs, stretching alongside the sea of Marmara, provided that the fate of all parts of the Empire would be decided through a referendum.

Meanwhile, the European countries informed the Ottoman government through an official memorandum that Istanbul and the straits must remain under the disposal of the Sultan. The followers of Mustafa Kemal interpreted this as a victory to their policy and that it would be possible to come to terms with the Europeans over fairer truce terms. Therefore, Mustafa Kemal started to work towards bringing down the government of Ali Ridha Pasha and towards replacing it by an outright nationalist government. He persisted and pressed the deputies vehemently to undertake this initiative and exhausted all his efforts, but the deputies recoiled and refused to listen to Mustafa Kemal. Thus he became enraged and realised that his plan to seize power through legitimate means and to replace the *Khilafah* system by a republican system was inevitably doomed to failure. Therefore, he set about rekindling the rebellion in order to seize power by force.

Mustafa Kemal's return to the rebellion through a second phase

Mustafa Kemal was the one who called for the election of new members and recognised the constitutionality of the assembly. He approved of the selected deputies, and he promised to abide by the resolutions of the assembly, who had dissolved the former government and accepted the current government, with the demands that the country should be governed through constitutional rule. Despite all this, he decided to declare the rebellion once again, after he had lost all hope of seizing power through parliament. Hence, he started to equip the troops and prepare for battle. Weapons and funds started to flow towards him from Istanbul with the full knowledge of the British High Commissioner and the French High Commissioner. They both used to nominally express their objection to this but they would generally keep silent and decline to reveal anything; even an incident far more significant than this occurred, which was when Mustafa Kemal gathered trucks full of weapons and ammunition in the peninsula of Gallipoli, right under the nose of the British High Commissioner and despite his surveillance.

A guerrilla war broke out against the allies, and Biria was besieged and forced to capitulate, thus the rebels allowed the Italian garrison to evacuate. Then the eastern side of Cilicia was attacked and the French garrison evacuated. London and Paris called for an absolute halt to the military operations, but these went on regardless as they were.

On 7th March 1920, the allies forced Ali Ridha to resign; thus he tendered his resignation and was replaced by Salih Pasha, who was the navy minister, and who had in the past struck a deal with Mustafa Kemal in "Amasia". Hence, he proceeded in government while attempting to diffuse and pacify the situation.

However, on 10th March 1920, Lord Curzon delivered a speech in the House of Lords in which he said: "The a+llies can no longer tolerate the level of belittlement the Europeans are having to endure in Istanbul, while Christians are being persecuted and slaughtered all over the place."

The British occupy Istanbul

In the wake of this statement, the harbour of Golden Horn was filled with British warships. British staff were evacuated from Anatolia and orders were issued to the remaining British garrison to evacuate as soon as possible. The British living in Ankara left the city in a hurry.

The speaker of parliament in Istanbul, Ra'uf Beik, declared that the British intended to arrest the nationalist deputies and to restore the government of Damad Farid Pasha. Hence, Mustafa Kemal telegraphed his deputies urging them vehemently to flee and not to surrender themselves to the British, but they refused to flee.

In the early hours of 16th March 1920, all the measures aimed at occupying Istanbul militarily and at tightening the grip on the local residents were undertaken. This task was delegated to the British General Henry Wilson, who had been appointed earlier as the Commander in Chief of the allied forces.

Paris and Rome agreed that the three governments of Britain, France and Italy should take part in imposing sanctions. However, it was Britain alone

who dispatched her marines. When France and Italy realised that Britain had succeeded in occupying Istanbul, they intervened once again to block the categorically British initiative in order to preserve the international balance of power; thus they demanded to take part in ruling the country, but the British did not enable them to do so, and acted alone.

Then without any delay, the British troops roamed the main streets of the city, proudly showing off, occupying the post office and all the main government buildings, after having terrorised the local residents and even the Turkish soldiers themselves. They arrested a number of deputies from Mustafa Kemal's party, among whom were Ra'uf Beik and Fathi Beik. They also arrested the former Prime Minister Said Halim, taking them all to prison. The next morning, they were loaded into a ship which took them to Malta. Hence, some of the deputies and army officers fled Istanbul for Ankara. And so, the allies took over Istanbul and siezed total control over it, ruling it just as they willed. Martial law was declared in Istanbul and strict censorship was enforced on the press, postal and telegraphic communications and on the government.

People's resentment of the Sultan for his support of the British measures

The Sultan backed the measures which the British had undertaken and the government issued a public communiqué in which it exhorted people to observe calm, stating that it was their duty to do so. The government began the communiqué by saying: "The most important duty of every Turkish citizen is to abide by the orders of the Sultan." Consequently, the masses and the Turkish soldiers were engulfed in an atmosphere of terror which in turn led to people's resentment of the Sultan and the intensification from all sides of the attacks upon him. Then parliament was officially dissolved.

On 5th April 1920, Salih Pasha resigned and Damad Ferid Pasha formed the new government at the request of the British and started ruling the country in a despotic manner. Once parliament had been dissolved, he became the sole power broker and started to openly take into account the British interests and attempt to win them over through various means, until he almost became more British than the British themselves. The Sultan was not too far behind in his attempt at winning the British over and in his attack on Mustafa Kemal's followers. He incited *Sheikh-ul-Islam* to issue a *fatwa* against them and so he did. The *fatwa* stated that all the nationalists were from amongst the cursed ones and from amongst those who strayed, and that the believers from amongst Allah's servants should declare war on those revolting insurgents. A Sultanic decree was simultaneously issued endorsing this fatwa and sentencing Mustafa Kemal and his supporters to capital punishment.

When Mustafa Kemal heard of this, he arrested the small number of Britons who remained in Anatolia and had not evacuated when they had been instructed to do so. Then he ordered the Turkish garrison to attack the British and besiege the city of Eskisehir where a British platoon was stationed. At that time, the British were waiting for an Italian garrison heading towards Konia. Hence, the Turkish troops attacked the British and managed to lay siege to the city. They also attacked the Italian garrison while on its way to Konia. The Italians however managed to reach Konia after suffering heavy losses. Consequently, the Italian garrison was forced to move westwards and join the Greeks in Izmir. The British evacuated Eskisehir as the Italians evacuated Konia. Therefore, not one single soldier from the allied forces was left in Anatolia; however, no clashes whatsoever took place with the British, while a single skirmish took place with the Italians while on their way to Konia to link up with the British. Then they all evacuated.

Mustafa Kemal announces fresh parliamentary elections

In the light of these operations, the situation became apparent in that two camps dominated the country: the British on one side, backed by the *Khaleefah* and the government, and Mustafa Kemal's party on the other side, backed by all the people. Hence, Mustafa Kemal became opposite to the government and people regarded him as their leader against the British. Therefore, public opinion was in his favour and most of the army officers and civil servants were on his side. So, amidst this favourable mood, he seized the opportunity to announce on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee, which was still in place and had never been dissolved, that fresh elections would be held and that the new parliament would have no connection with the old assembly. Also that it would not be an Ottoman parliament, but a nationalist legislative institution with exceptional powers. Ankara was selected as the centre where the sessions of this nationalist institution would be held.

Elections did effectively take place, but these were not genuine elections - they were rather a nominal exercise aimed at creating the appearance of legitimate elections. The general mood was that the status quo necessitated the election of the Kemalists only, to the exclusion of all others, so they become the representatives of the nation. This indeed was the case and no other deputy apart from the Kemalists was elected.

On 23rd April 1920, the nationalist conference was held in Ankara. The inaugural session was deliberately scheduled to take place on a Friday. Hence, after the Friday prayer at the mosque of Hajj Birem, the deputies came out hoisting the flags and proceeded towards the venue of the meeting. They slaughtered two sheep at the threshold, then they entered the hall and held the inaugural session. Meanwhile, similar celebrations took place in every single mosque in Anatolia, even those in the smallest of villages.

During his preparation for the National Assembly and its inauguration, Mustafa Kemal had been bringing the civil servants to Ankara. Local residents witnessed an influx of migrants flocking to their city, amongst whom were officers, teachers and senior civil servants. They did not know at first the reason for their arrival, but they later realised that they were the government staff.

Mustafa Kemal establishes a government apparatus in Ankara

And so, Mustafa Kemal established a government apparatus in Ankara. He also established a regular army and several government departments. He also brought a press and a team of journalists. A newspaper called Hakmit Milla was published and Mustafa Kemal prepared Ankara to become the government centre and the capital of the country. He set about laying the foundations of the Turkish republic. However, he undertook this initiative with extreme caution and total secrecy by pretending that his struggle was a struggle against foreign occupation and that his war was a war against the occupiers. He used to justify his actions by claiming that he was defending the country and used to address the Europeans through official statements in which he would say: "You can occupy all the Arab countries and occupy Syria, but I shall not allow you to occupy Turkey. We are only claiming a right which every single nation should enjoy. We want to be a free nation within our natural national borders. We do not accept one carat less than that." During and after the inauguration of the National Assembly, he declared: "All the measures to be taken would be aimed at maintaining the *Khilafah* and the Sultanate and at ridding the Sultan and the country from Western slavery." He then gave a statement in which he said: "Since the Sultan is prisoner of the Western countries who control the capital as they please, thus he is not a free sovereign, nor does he enjoy any sovereignty whatsoever. Therefore, the Supreme National Assembly is going to assume temporarily the running

of the country's affairs."

Consequently, an executive committee was set up and delegated with the task of running the country's affairs. It was formed of eleven ministers elected by the National Assembly, and Mustafa Kemal was voted as its president. Prior to this, he had been elected as speaker of the National Assembly, whereafter Colonel Ismat Pasha joined the government.

The National Assembly started to hold its meetings and adopt resolutions. It adopted a host of very important resolutions, one of which was the considering of all the trade agreements and treaties signed between the Istanbul government and the foreign countries as null and void. Another resolution stipulated that all the state's revenues, even those coming from the Sultan's assets, estates and *Awqaf* (endowments), should be placed under the disposal of the Ankara government.

Hence, a government was established in Ankara, which had a parliament, governmental departments and a regular army. It adopted a host of very serious resolutions. Thus, it became imperative upon the Sultan to either abolish this government or surrender to it. An armed confrontation between the two camps became inevitable.

The Sultan dispatches a task force to abolish the Ankara government

The Sultan dispatched a task force to Ankara led by officers loyal to him. The troops marched towards the north-west of Asia Minor. Many volunteers joined the task force and the Sultan sent some of his supporters to Kurdistan in order to incite the tribes in that region. Then he started to exhort the whole *Ummah* to defend the throne and the *Khilafah*. Loyalty to the *Khaleefah* was still strong to the point that his orders were met with respect and his obedience was considered to be an obedience to Allah

(swt), while his disobedience was considered to be a disobedience to Allah (swt). Hence, all the provinces joined the *Khaleefah* while some of them revolted against the Ankara government. The army of the *Khaleefah* succeeded in taking a whole Kemalist division as prisoners.

Battles between the two armies went on throughout the month of May 1920 and the Sultan's army managed to rout Mustafa Kemal's forces everywhere. All the provinces joined the *Khaleefah* and the masses were on his side, apart from Ankara, which was the centre of the rebellion. Ankara itself was about to fall, for the neighbouring villages were coming under the Sultan's banner one after the other and joining the *Khaleefah's* army. Mustafa Kemal and his supporters in Ankara were in dire straits, and in Ankara itself, despair crept in the hearts of those who were with him and they contemplated surrendering to the *Khaleefah* and joining him. Mustafa Kemal's life was hanging by a thread and he was on the verge of being destroyed.

The broadcast of the truce terms tips the balance in favour of Mustafa Kemal after his defeat

Precisely at that moment, the terms of truce which had been signed a year and a half before in Paris, known as the Treaty of Sèvres which the Sultan had accepted and the Prime Minister Damad Farid Pasha had signed, were broadcast. These terms had been kept secret and the Turkish people knew nothing about them. They were now broadcast all over Turkey . Hence, public opinion was outraged in every part of the country, against the *Khaleefah* and against the Prime Minister Damad Farid Pasha. When the outrage was at his highest, the British Prime Minister Lloyd George, made an announcement in the House of Parliament saying: "The aim of the allies is to liberate the non-Turkish nations from the Turkish yoke." This announcement was also circulated amongst the masses, causing the outrage to intensify, and the resentment became directed at the British and their puppets, the *Khaleefah* and his Prime Minister Damad Farid

Pasha.

In this way, the situation was turned upside down and people started to drift away from the *Khaleefah* and join Mustafa Kemal. The areas which revolted against Mustafa Kemal were all purged from the *Khaleefah's* army and from those who were opposed to Mustafa Kemal. The *Khaleefah's* army was heavily defeated and the Sultan's power was diminished. People were vowing to seek revenge from Damad Farid Pasha who had signed the Treaty and surrendered the country. Consequently, Ankara regained control of the situation and all people sided with Mustafa Kemal. They considered him to be the saviour from occupation and he was restored as the leader of the country. This Treaty incensed the Turks, for it meant the end of the Ottoman Empire and its division amongst the Europeans, or its fragmentation into several independent *Wilayas*, thus turning Turkey into a small country within Asia Minor and bringing Istanbul, the capital of Turkey and her only passage to Europe under an international mandate. The Treaty also changed the Sultan's authority into insignificant forms and reduced Turkey to areas of influence for Britain, France and Italy.

The Treaty contained a host of horrifying clauses, among which were :

1- The Arab countries: Turkey was stripped of all the Arab countries formerly part of her Empire. As for the kingdom of Hijaz, it was recognised as an independent state and Turkey renounced her dominion over Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia whose future was to be decided by the allies.

2- European Turkey: West Damas was handed to Greece up until the Catalca line. At the same time Greece received from the Allies the heritage of Al-Gharbiyyah and thus extending her borders to approximately 20 miles from the Turkish capital.

3- Smirna and the Aegean Islands, together with Smirna city, were placed

under the Greek administration for five years, after which time, the locals could opt to join the kingdom of Greece by way of a referendum. As for the islands of Jambros and Tinides, these were offered to Greece in addition to other Aegean islands. The Dodicaniz islands, which include the strategic island of Rhodes were offered to Italy.

4- Armenia: Turkey recognised Armenia as being an independent state and she accepted the arbitration of President Wilson pertaining the issue of the borders between the two countries.

5- Kurdistan: Turkey agreed to grant the Kurdish lands situated to the east of the Euphrates river a self-rule, and to accept any plan pertaining to this issue submitted by an international select committee represented by Britain, France and Italy. Turkey also agreed to approve certain modifications to her borders with Iran in the Kurdish region, in addition to approving that one year after the execution of this treaty, the Kurds could request for independence which would be granted if the council of the League of Nations deemed the Kurds worthy of this independence. Thus Turkey would have to renounce all her authority over these lands. The texts of this renouncement would form a new agreement between the allies and Turkey.

6 - The straits and Constantinople: Turkey agreed to have the straits under international administration and to demilitarise the surrounding areas. As for Constantinople, (Istanbul), she would remain under Turkish sovereignty. In addition to this, the Turkish army was restricted to 50,000 soldiers and subjugated to abide by the allies directives and recommendations. Turkey also agreed to allow the long-term control of Britain, France and Italy over her financial affairs, in addition to maintaining the old concessions and adding a host of humiliating clauses. In addition to Turkey accepting to grant the ethnic minorities a host of rights and privileges, in particular the Armenians, the Greeks and the Kurds, and all the Christians in general.

The broadcast of such a horrific and humiliating treaty was enough to flare up the rebellion in Turkey against the Sultan, who had accepted the treaty and signed for it. Hence, the sweeping current started to rapidly move in favour of Ankara and the whole country sided with the new Ankara government giving it a military and popular force. The government of Ankara went as far as threatening the capital Istanbul itself which was occupied by the allies. Hence, Mustafa Kemal won the second phase and succeeded in establishing a second government in the country, with Ankara as its centre, and in gaining the upper hand over the country and the army.

This was the second phase of Mustafa Kemal's rebellion and these were its events. Any person discerning these events can tangibly sense that it was the British who prepared for this phase and who instigated it; also that it was them who protected it and prevented its destruction and abolishment. It was the allies who informed the Turkish government through an official memorandum that Istanbul and the straits should remain under the auspices of the Sultan, while the government did not ask for this. At the time, no one could comprehend the reasons behind this generosity, as the allies were still occupying the country. The reason was later uncovered, for it enabled Britain to return later on her own to occupy the straits and Istanbul, not giving the opportunity for Italy. Hence, it was a British manoeuvre aimed at enabling them to occupy the capital and the straits single-handedly.

Besides this, the money and the weapons which used to go to Mustafa Kemal after he resumed the rebellion, reached him with the full knowledge of the British and the French High Commissioners; so why this silence from their part? Why this encouragement to allow the loading of full trucks from the peninsula of Gallipoli? Furthermore, the faked anger which led to Mustafa Kemal's clash with the allies should have been directed at Mustafa Kemal himself, not at Istanbul. Thus, the natural thing to do would have been for the allies to attack the centre of the rebellion in Ankara and the rebellious army, not for the British to return on their

own with their warships and perpetrate provocative acts in the capital without inflicting any harm on the rebels.

In addition, the rebels did not clash with the British, but with the French in Cilicia and the Italians in Konya. No clashes whatsoever took place with the British troops. Had there been any anger towards the rebellion of Mustafa Kemal, it would have been natural had it come from the French and the Italians, not from the British. In the end it was the British who returned on their own to occupy the country thereby preventing the French and the Italians from returning.

Furthermore, why would Britain broadcast the Treaty of Sèvres at a moment when Mustafa Kemal was surrounded in Ankara and was about to fall? Why had this Treaty been kept secret before, knowing that it had been signed over a year earlier? Was this not a manifestation of Mustafa Kemal's rebellion being against the allies? This action was without any shade of a doubt a conspiracy perpetrated by the British themselves, for they were the ones who broadcasted the articles of the Treaty at that specific moment in order to save Mustafa Kemal and to deal the *Khaleefah* a blow so that a second government could be established in the country, thus moving towards the third and last phase. The phase of international conferences and final treaties.

The Ankara government gets settled and other states deal with it directly

This is how the second phase ended with the settlement of the second government of the country in Ankara, making it the holder of the reins of power and the effective authority. Meanwhile, the Istanbul government turned into a powerless and deficient authority. No sooner than this second government had settled and took control of the country, Britain called in the wake of these events for the conference of London, to be attended by a host of deputies from Greece and Turkey. Britain said: "The purpose of holding this conference is to seek a solution for the Eastern crisis." This could only mean a review of the peace terms of the Sèvres Treaty signed in Paris because the holding of a conference to look into the Eastern Issue, which had been settled at an official peace conference, could only mean that the Sèvres Treaty which had been ratified in Paris would again be the object of discussion and study before it could have any effect, or before it could be implemented altogether. Indeed the Treaty had not been applied and not one single article of it was implemented. This confirms that Britain concluded the Treaty in order to threaten Turkey and use it as a means to carry out her aims, not to implement it. The proof for this is that it had been concluded for about a year during which time it was kept secret; it was only broadcast when Mustafa Kemal was surrounded and was nearly destroyed and his rebellion almost crushed. The mere fact that the British called for the London conference to review the Sèvres Treaty was seen as bizarre because the Treaty was in favour of the British. Even though France was not satisfied with the Sèvres Treaty

in the slightest and she had been coerced into agreeing to that Treaty; she deemed that the Ottoman legacy had become the property of her ally Britain, who had gained from it the lion's share. Thus France had to be content with Syria and Cilicia. Still, Syria and Cilicia were, as far as France was concerned, a gift that was open to debate. Italy was also angry about the Treaty, for she was averse to the Greek sovereignty in the Mediterranean, especially because the Greek expansion in Asia Minor was in fact at the expense of the Italian areas of influence which had been drawn up between the allies during the war. Therefore, it was due to the greed of these two states, France and Italy, in gaining more spoils that they had signed the Treaty reluctantly.

Accordingly, when Britain chose not to implement anything from the Treaty, despite that fact the it would have yielded for her the largest spoils in comparison with her allies, this attracted attention and was deemed unnatural. When she afterwards demanded a review of this Treaty, it came as a surprise and was deemed most odd. What was more surprising than this was for a delegation representing the new Ankara government to attend the conference alongside the delegation which came to represent the Ottoman government, which clearly no other institution whether Turkish or Ottoman alike had the right to take part in apart from it, because the Ottoman government was the legitimate government that had entered the war and had been defeated. After all, it was that government that had signed the Treaty of Sèvres which this conference was held in order to review. Hence, it is to be asked what was the position of the new Ankara government which no one had yet recognised, and why was it attending this international conference held to review the terms of peace? Was this alone not ample proof that the establishment of this government in Ankara was staged by the British in order to make it first take part in the peace negotiations and then allow it to become the sole negotiator over the final terms of peace?

The Ottoman government, the *Khilafah* government, should have rejected

the participation of the Ankara government alongside it in the negotiations, for its acceptance would have meant recognising it officially before other states, and because the presence of two governments in one country, facing the enemy and negotiating over peace terms demonstrates extreme weakness and devastation. Hence, it would have been natural for the *Khilafah* government to reject the attendance of the representatives of the Ankara government, but in fact it accepted it. Its weakness even led it to use Mustafa Kemal's invitation to attend the conference as a means to try and win him over and reconcile him. In this regard, Tawfiq Pasha approached Mustafa Kemal with the European states invitation to attend the London conference and said: "In the name of the Turkish state and for the sake of the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish delegation attending the conference should present a strong united front, and the agenda which the Turks are proposing should also be one, indicating the co-operation and the unity of the *Ummah* as a whole, rather than her conflict and division." However, Mustafa Kemal refused this and said: "It is only the National Assembly in Ankara that enjoys the constitutional sovereignty, and which enjoys the exclusive power and rule in the country. The European countries should have sent the invitation through this Assembly."

During that time, the National Assembly turned itself into a permanent assembly. It also drafted a new constitution whose drafting lasted nine whole months. The main obstacle that faced the drafting of the constitution and which generated a great deal of debate and deliberation was the issue of the "Sultanate and the *Khilafah*". Mustafa Kemal was forced under the pressure of the overwhelming consensus and the sweeping trend in the National Assembly - which was considered to be the Assembly of Ata Turk, for its members were all from among his supporters, was forced to state explicitly in the constitution that the Sultanate and the *Khilafah* would be maintained. Hence, Mustafa Kemal said in reply to the Prime Minister Tawfiq Pasha when he invited him and urged him to let the Turkish delegation show unity and harmony, "The National Assembly has in the first article of its constitution stipulated that there would be no

prejudice to the Sultanate and no detriment to the sanctity of the Khilafah; the Sultan should recognise the National Assembly so that the Ankara government could participate with its delegation with the delegation of the Sultan's government."

However, the Sultan refused to recognise the National Assembly and the constitution that it drafted, because recognising it would imply the removal of the *Khilafah* even if the constitution mentioned the nominal safeguard of the *Khilafah*. Additionally, the constitution stipulated that the authority as a whole, without any preconditions, had gone down to the nation as a whole and that the nation had become the source of legislation; also that the National Assembly had acquired the exclusive and absolute right to represent the sovereignty of the people, and it is the Assembly that decides on the issue of war and peace. Clearly, it was impossible for the Sultan to accept this. Thus negotiations between the *Khaleefah's* government and the Ankara government about the forming of the delegation were cut off.

However when the European countries realised that Mustafa Kemal had refused the invitation because it had reached him through the Sultan's government, Britain sent him a direct invitation to Ankara on behalf of the allied states. This invitation was regarded as a clear recognition from her of the Ankara government. Hence, the two delegations travelled separately. Tawfiq Pasha was the head of the *Khaleefah's* delegation, while Bakir Sami Beik was the head of the Ankara delegation. The London conference was held in February 1921.

The head of the Sultan's delegation abdicates to the head of the Ankara delegation the right to speak on behalf of the two delegations

When the two delegations sat at the negotiating table, Premier Tawfiq Pasha stood up and said that in his capacity as head of the Istanbul

delegation, he was abdicating his right to speak to Bakir Sami Beik, who would speak on behalf of the two delegations and would defend the national aspirations of the Turks. Upon this Istanbul remained silent and only the voice of Ankara was raised.

Then Lloyd George of Britain, Brian of France and Count Sforza of Italy set about explaining the purpose of the conference, stating that it merely aimed at harmonising relations between the nations which had clashed in the war, and that the allies were prepared to introduce certain modifications to the terms of peace, especially those pertaining the privileges offered to Greece. They decided to establish a special committee and assign to it the task of reviewing the situation of the local residents in the region of Izmir, stating that the decisions reached by this committee would be binding upon the two parties. The head of the delegation Bakir Sami agreed to the idea of the sending of the committee but the Greeks categorically rejected it. Upon this the Ankara representative and the head of the delegation, speaking on behalf of the two delegations, suggested during the conference that Izmir could be turned into a domestically independent *Wilaya* under a Christian ruler. However, the British rejected this proposal and so did the Greeks, the French and the Italians. The French delegation agreed to evacuate Cilicia and hand it back to the Turks, giving their assurances to honour this promise. Bakir Sami for his part agreed to grant France a commercial privilege which would give her preference over the other states which Turkey traded with, to which effect Turkey and France concluded a treaty.

However, the London conference failed and was wound up without achieving anything apart from what the French and the Turkish delegations had agreed upon. No sooner had the two delegations returned, than Mustafa Kemal rejected the treaty which Bakir Sami had signed with France. Bakir Sami was then forced to resign his post as foreign minister and he immediately joined those who opposed Mustafa Kemal.

Mustafa Kemal then wrote to the French government stating that the delegation he had dispatched to the conference had acted in a manner which exceeded the powers with which it was delegated, thus all the resolutions it had adopted were null and void and the country would not accept them nor would she be liable to honour them.

Negotiations then took place between the Ankara government and France at the end of which the Ankara government signed an agreement on 20th October 1921 with France, under which Turkey undertook to surrender Syria to France. They also agreed to determine the borders between Turkey and Syria. Pursuant to this agreement, France also evacuated her troops from Cilicia. Hence, Mustafa Kemal assumed contacts with other states and other states in turn contacted him and dealt with him, signing treaties with him despite the presence of the *Khilafah* government.

The European states thereafter started to display their inclination towards him. France and Italy started attempting to win him over and get closer to him, while Britain started to openly support him in international issues and seemed to have snubbed Greece and started to show resentment towards her.

Mustafa Kemal also contacted Russia, which had withdrawn from the war and where the communist government had been established, and sought her help. He surrendered Batum to her and endeavoured to make her sign a treaty of friendship with him on behalf of Turkey, so as to consider it as an official recognition of his government. Russia agreed to this, as she did not loose anything by it and because she was against Islam and against the existence of an Islamic *Khilafah*. Hence, she supported Mustafa Kemal against the British and against the *Khilafah*, then she took Batum without loosing anything, and this was on 16th March 1921. Prior to this, Italy had relinquished Altalia out of her own free will and evacuated it in January 1921. Hence, France, Italy and Russia sided with the Ankara government and this strengthened the hand of Mustafa Kemal.

Mustafa Kemal prepares to settle the crisis with Greece through war

In the wake of the London conference failure, and the signing of the treaties between Mustafa Kemal and France, Italy and Russia, the only war related issue to remain unsettled was the Greek crisis. Hence, Mustafa Kemal was either given a free rein or inspired to settle the outstanding problems with Greece through war.

Therefore, Mustafa Kemal set about amassing weapons, equipment and ammunition, equipping the army and increasing his force. Weapons and ammunition started to flow towards him abundantly in a manner that indicated clearly that he was preparing for war, reaching him from Russia via the British lines in the Bosphorus and the Black Sea shores. France evacuated Cilicia and withdrew her troops from there, thus the Turkish forces stationed themselves there and an estimated 80,000 soldiers moved towards the Western front in order to reinforce and consolidate it. Consequently, the Greeks became worried and realised that this military build-up was against them. The Greek government sensed that the European states were against them, that Britain had turned her back on them and began to suspect that she was inciting Turkey against them.

Greece initiates war against the Turks

Therefore, Greece decided to initiate an attack against the Turks without

seeking the permission of the Allies, for she became certain that they were against her. When the Allies sensed that Greece was on the verge of launching an attack on the Turks, they put forward a proposal to the Greeks and the Turks with the aim of reconciling them. However, it seemed that the Greeks sensed that this proposal was a delaying tactic aimed at giving the Turks a chance to prepare and equip their forces further. Hence, they initiated the fighting against the Turks before responding to the Allies' proposal. Fighting broke out between the Greeks and the Turks, and this lasted for approximately a year and a half.

As soon as the hostilities had broken out, the Allies declared officially their neutrality. However, this neutrality seemed bizarre, for the Ottoman State was still under effective British occupation and was considered internationally to be occupied by the Allies. Hence, any fighting taking place in Turkey would undoubtedly affect the position of the occupiers. So how could it be possible for them to remain neutral? The natural course of action would have been for them to support Greece, or to stand against her in order to prevent the fighting from taking place. But to take a neutral stand was unnatural, especially in this critical situation. Nevertheless the neutrality did effectively occur and Greece was left wondering in confusion after being let down by her British ally. Naturally she should have surrendered and accepted negotiations, but she did not. She rather insisted to continue the fight. As a result, the British government offered officially to act as a mediator between Greece and Turkey, but Greece rejected this categorically. It seemed that she was wary of this mediation, for she might have sensed Britain's support of Mustafa Kemal. Thus, she rejected Britain's mediation and continued to fight.

The fighting between the two states had its ups and downs, and war changed from being a mere guerrilla war against the Greeks to an organised war with battles like any other war. On 23rd March 1922, the Greeks marched towards Eskisehir and Afyon Karahisar, these being considered to be strategic railway line junctions. The Greeks occupied Afyon Kara

for a short spell, but they suffered a decisive defeat in the north at Ayn Otto during the first days of April 1922 and were forced to retreat to Brossa.

Then in July, the Greeks gathered their troops and decided to launch an attack on Istanbul. They attempted to occupy Istanbul but General Harrington, the Commander in chief of the allied Forces intercepted them and prevented them from doing so. They moved towards the east and reached the railway line, where they came face to face with the Turks.

Ismat Pasha was the Commander of the Turkish armed forces and he managed to repel the Greek onslaught for ten days. However, on the 11th day the Greek army managed to penetrate deeply into Kutahya which was regarded as a Turkish frontline. Ismat Pasha attempted to repel these offensives one after the other, but the Greek army was gradually tightening its grip around him. The Greek platoon deployed in the south managed to seize Afyon Karahisar and began looking to seize the northern parts. As the battles went on, the situation became more and more critical.

Nevertheless, the army commanders felt that their national duty was to keep up the fight until the last minute.

At this point, Mustafa Kemal arrived and the High Command broke the disturbing news to him. Having examined the whole situation, he issued his instructions to stop the fighting immediately and to withdraw to the Eastern front. The Turkish soldiers managed to retreat, having been near despair and having suffered heavy losses, abandoning large amounts of military hardware as a booty for their enemy. The chariots started to carry whatever could be carried, and women and children proceeded along with the chariots in a state of severe exhaustion. The Turkish soldiers' retreat ended when they reached Sakarya.

As for Mustafa Kemal, he returned from Eskisehir to Ankara by train.

Negotiations with the Greeks took place, but they proved futile. Mustafa Kemal was prepared to give the Greeks a host of concessions which were all refused.

The morale of the Turks was depleted. The National Assembly held numerous boisterous meetings, in which the opposition used to pour out their anger on Mustafa Kemal and his commanders. The members who championed and supported Mustafa Kemal were shaken, becoming extremely worried and confused.

When Mustafa Kemal returned to his headquarters, he heard the commanders talking amongst themselves - they were in a very bad state. He met with them and attempted to motivate them. To quote from what he said to them: "What is the importance of the railway line? What is the importance of Eskisehir or any other city? Nothing. The army is everything, and the army is still strong. In four weeks time we will have vanquished our enemies." When the commander heard what he had to say, they looked at him in bewilderment, thinking that his talk was totally absurd.

However, the battle went on and the Greek troops continued their advance. The platoons of General Papolas gathered west of Sakarya and the Turks were forced to surrender Kara. The right flank managed to escape with great difficulty. As for the left flank, no sooner was it forced to abandon one area, then it was forced to abandon another. The headquarters of Mustafa Kemal were in the village of Al-Ajwash, and he used to give instructions from his room which he never left, Ismat being the commander of the army. The Turkish army was yet again defeated and the General Commander was confused not knowing whether to order the troops to retreat or to stay put. Mustafa Kemal realised that if the troops remained where they were, the calamity might or might not happen, whereas if they retreated, it would undoubtedly befall them. Thus, he

decided against the army's retreat; the situation was extremely critical.

The Greek army withdraws under the Allies pressure despite its victory

On 7th September 1922 at 2.00 am, news came that the Greek army had aborted its offensive and had started to withdraw. At this, the Turkish army turned on the Greeks and launched a counter attack while they were retreating; the Greeks retreated beyond Sakarya then back to their initial position near the Anatolian railway line. Along the way, they burnt the villages and wrecked wells with dynamite, carrying along cattle and killing anyone they encountered. They left behind hundreds of miles of destruction and finally evacuated Izmir. On 9th September, the Turks recaptured Izmir without even firing one single shot. However, they in turn burnt half the city in order to erase the last trace of the Greek occupation. Britain, France and Italy called for a truce, which was held on 11th September 1922 and the Greeks relinquished Trakya up to Marij. Thus, the war between Greece and Turkey came to an end.

This was the summary of the war events which took place between Mustafa Kemal and the Greeks as they really occurred, not as the Western propaganda wanted to portray them at the time. These events indicate that the withdrawal of the Greeks and their retraction from the lands they had occupied was not as a consequence of a decisive battle that took place between them and Mustafa Kemal and which they lost. Contrary to this, at the time when the Greeks started to retreat and evacuate, they had the upper hand and the Turkish armed forces were the vanquished, and their morale was very low and despair had started to enfeeble them.

It is clear that the Greeks' withdrawal in this manner indicates that an international pressure was applied upon the Greeks, which forced them to withdraw. There is no doubt in the fact that the pressure came from the Allies, because it was Britain, France, and Italy who called for the

truce once the Greeks had already retreated and withdrawn. Thus, the truce was effectively held.

The British launch a huge publicity for Mustafa Kemal

The British exploited these battles between the Turks and the Greeks as a means to enable Mustafa Kemal to abolish the *Khilafah*. Britain in particular, gave wing to the news and spread it widely throughout the Islamic world; she generated a huge publicity for Mustafa Kemal inside and outside Turkey until he became known everywhere as the victor who repelled the Greeks and fought all the allies and expelled them. He was even referred to as the Conqueror. This was what enabled Mustafa Kemal to firmly establish himself in the country and to deal the Muslims and the rule of Islam a fatal blow, reflected in the abolishment of the *Khilafah* and the removal of the authority of Islam from the face of the earth.

As for the issue of expelling the Greeks from Trakya, this was a flagrant farce manifested by the fact that once the Greek forces evacuated Asia Minor, the forces of Mustafa Kemal moved northwards in order to recapture Trakya from them. When France, Italy and Britain declared their neutral stand on 15th May 1921, they established a neutral zone which was composed of an area spread around the Bosporus and the Dardanelles shores, and they prevented the two warring factions from passing through this zone. In fact the Greeks had attempted to pass through the zone before when they were about to occupy Istanbul, but Harrington prevented them from doing so. Then Mustafa Kemal attempted to pass through it but Harrington also attempted to prevent him. However, Mustafa Kemal ignored this prevention and the army went on penetrating the area regardless. The Turkish armed forces gathered along the coast and stopped near the Dardanelles. Thus Harrington prepared for a showdown. He gathered the troops deployed in Istanbul and sent several platoons to protect Canak Kale and the Asian coastline.

His allies, the French and the Italians, found this strange. Then he sent a warning to Turkey, which the three states Britain, France and Italy had approved, stressing the prohibition of passing through the neutral zone. However, Mustafa Kemal did not pay any attention to this and this prompted Britain to put her forces on high alert and order them to prepare for battle. She also asked France and Italy to put their forces on high alert but they refused. Then the French garrison pulled out of neutral zone Canak Kale and from the Asian coastline. Italy followed France's example and Britain remained on her own.

The issue was no longer between Turkey and the Allies, but rather between Turkey and the British alone. The Turkish forces came face to face with the British forces. The British forces could have taken on the Turkish forces and prevented them from pursuing the Greeks, and if they had really wanted to fight the Turkish forces they would have been able to inflict upon them a crushing defeat with their land troops. Otherwise their navy and warplanes were on standby. Mustafa Kemal had no warplanes nor did he have any warships at the time, and his course of action was to penetrate the Dardanelles.

Some of Mustafa Kemal's advisors did not want him to expose himself to a certain defeat before the British army, but he insisted on continuing his march to penetrate the neutral zone and reach the Greeks. Hence, the Turkish forces advanced and the British troops confronted them to halt their advance. However, no clashes took place between the two sides. The British troops appeared confused and not knowing what to do. Orders reaching them were ambiguous, instructing them to prevent the Turks from passing through and at the same time banning the firing of arms and the use of violence.

Meanwhile, France sent an envoy called Franklin Bouillon to negotiate with Mustafa Kemal on her behalf. The French envoy expressed his readiness to give the Allies' undertaking that they would make the Greeks

evacuate Triss and to return European Turkey to the Turks.

Upon this Harrington requested from Mustafa Kemal some time in order to consult his government, and ten days later a reply came from the British government agreeing to the Greek armies evacuation but rejecting the evacuation of the European forces. In fact no other forces were there apart from the British forces.

Mustafa Kemal agreed and ordered his troops to halt their advance and dispatched Ismat to meet Harrington in the village of Mudanya to work out the details. The allies agreed to expel the Greeks from Triss and effectively it was so. The Greek troops evacuated and the Ankara government took over the reins of administrative matters. Hence, no other foreign garrison was left in Turkey apart from the British army.

This was also regarded as a victory for Mustafa Kemal over the Allies for chasing them from Istanbul and the Straits. He was given wide publicity just like the publicity campaign pertaining the battles with the Greeks, though a little rational judgement would show that these theatrical acts were prearranged with the British, in order to alienate their Allies and remain on their own in the country.

The politicians and the officers warn Mustafa Kemal against abolishing the Khilafah

By now, the phase of the domestic actions had ended and only the settlement of the issue of the peace conference was still pending. Meanwhile, the politicians and officers sensed that Mustafa Kemal intended to abolish the *Khilafah*. An overwhelming majority was formed in the National Assembly to oppose him in this critical issue, and they made it clear to him that they were ready to stand against him in it. A large section of the armed forces also sensed this.

General Kathim Qara Bakir Pasha was the most ardent supporter of the Sultan among them; thus he warned Mustafa Kemal in a speech in which he said: "The new constitution could not be regarded from a legitimate angle as a sound law since the country has not been consulted and her opinion has not been sought regarding such a critical matter. Only the nation can decide on the type of ruling system she wants." He then ended his speech with the following threatening words: "I have vowed to prevent any steps undertaken with the aim of transforming the country from a Sultanate to a republic, no matter how dear the sacrifice."

Since Kathim Qara Bakir was a respected personality among the whole army, and since the masses appreciated his sound reasoning and his foresight and trusted him, he was capable of inciting the nation and the army against Mustafa Kemal, who realised this and immediately moved to calm him. Thus he wrote to him saying: " The constitution drafted by the National Assembly is not final. It is rather a host of general principles which have been drafted to act as leads and guidelines to those who wish to rule the country by a democratic system free of chaos. There is nothing in these laws to suggest that the sacred Sultanate and the sacred *Khilafah* would be undermined, or to suggest an incitement towards adopting a republican ruling system. Those who imagine that we wish to destroy the Sultanate and substitute the Sultanic rule by the republican rule are in fact living in another planet than the one we live in, that is the planet of fiction and imagination."

This letter had its effect upon Kathim Qara Bakir and upon everyone else. Thus, the storm was calmed and Mustafa Kemal realised that he would not be able to establish a republic unless he relied on a formidable force that would enable him to overwhelm these opponents. So, he set about preparing such a force with all his efforts. He was assisted by the huge publicity which the British had spread about him inside Turkey and throughout the Islamic world. Therefore, when he sensed that he had acquired the necessary force, and when he was able to rely upon a

formidable force supporting him within the army, he set about executing the aims he had been harbouring for the *Khilafah* - he started thinking about abolishing it while the peace conference was being held to look into the country's matters.

Separating the Sultanate from the Khilafah

It seems that Britain did not call for the final peace conference until she had finished all her manoeuvres and achieved the results that she had wanted. By reviewing all the actions undertaken in Turkey alone since the holding of the Mondros truce, up until the first conference of Lausanne, it appears that the British had played with utmost shrewdness the dirtiest of roles in order to destroy the *Khilafah*. The British General Harrington was the Commander in Chief of the Allied armies occupying the Turkish lands and he was in total control of Istanbul and all the Turkish lands. Turkey by then had already been severed from the rest of the Islamic lands. Hence, the prospect of undertaking what they had been harbouring had become favourable. Their activities were focused on destroying the *Khilafah* and alienating the allies - France, Italy and Greece, from Turkey. So they proceeded to initiate their manoeuvres while realising that these two tasks, of destroying the *Khilafah* and alienating the allies was not going to be an easy ride.

Therefore, they proceeded with the utmost malice and shrewdness. The process of secluding the allies was assumed by the British government through various political and diplomatic styles, international and military manoeuvring and through flaring up a domestic war, which she also used as one of the means to destroy the *Khilafah*. As for the process of destroying the *Khilafah*, this was carried out by the British government through direct actions inside Turkey itself , with the two British Generals, Harrington and Wilson being used to execute it, in addition to these political styles and international manoeuvres. Mustafa Kemal was the man who

aided in this horrific role, and had it not been for him their conspiracies would have been doomed to failure.

It appears also that there were other little renowned men from among the British who performed a host of direct actions inside the Turkish territories themselves. It seems that Captain H.S. Armstrong, although he was an unknown and low ranking officer, was nevertheless undertaking certain actions at the time. Just before the First World War, he was the British Military Attaché in Istanbul, and during the war, he was taken prisoner along with the whole of the sixth army division. During his imprisonment, he requested a meeting with Anwar Pasha. His request was astonishing, for Anwar Pasha was at the time the War Minister and the whole country was under his control. For a British prisoner to request a meeting with him was extraordinary. Nonethless Anwar met him and a long conversation took place between them, which ended with Anwar ordering that he should be placed in solitary confinement as a punishment. It never became known what caused Anwar to become angry with this prisoner; however, it is said that he attempted to initiate a war of nerves against Anwar and that he insulted him or the state, thus leading to his punishment. However, it seems that this prisoner was in fact in contact with some of the army officers, for before the end of the war he escaped from prison and returned to the British forces. It never became known who helped him escape. No sooner had the war ended than the British government dispatched him back to Istanbul and the British occupying authorities delegated to him a host of official duties. He remained there for several years, during which time he was in direct contact with the Turks in general and with Mustafa Kemal in particular, and he witnessed all the moves undertaken to remove the *Khilafah*. Hence, it is very likely that he was from among those who colluded with Mustafa Kemal in his endeavour to destroy the *Khilafah*.

However, the principal role was assigned to Harrington, for he was the Commander in Chief and he was in total control of all affairs. It seems

that when Mustafa Kemal was playing his role, his main contact was with Harrington. The British considered Harrington as the supreme authority in Turkey and there exists a host of official statements highlighting his role in Turkey.

On 25th February 1924, Lieutenant-Colonel Dalemass addressed the Commons by saying: "Britain's reputation in the east is muddled." He then added: "Britain should not interfere in the Armenian issue", and referred to many letters reaching him from the Armenians stating that they wished to live with the Turks in peace.

Upon this Charles Bate replied: "The feeling of the Turks towards us is very friendly and our actions there are very successful." He was basing his answers on the information that had reached him from Sir Charles Harrington, but he did not disclose the nature of this information. On 24th March 1940, two days after the death of Harrington, the Times newspaper wrote an article in which it mentioned the following: "In the wake of the Greeks' defeat by the Turks in 1921, the allied forces Commander in Chief Sir Harrington was given wide powers to cooperate with Mustafa Kemal." However, the nature of this cooperation was not mentioned. The paper added: "Harrington's flirtation with politics concealed his resoluteness and determination to achieve his ambitions, and he was worthy of this."

With these wide powers to cooperate with Mustafa Kemal, the final phase to settle the issue and deal the *Khilafah* the fatal blow had started. After the holding of the truce in July 1922, the evacuation of the Greeks and after the evacuation of the French and the Italians, the country was rid of all the foreign garrisons, apart from the British garrison. Accordingly Harrington became the sole operator, and the force of Mustafa Kemal with his influence and popularity throughout the whole country had reached their peak. Meanwhile, the Istanbul government was a nominal government that had no say in matters whatsoever, for the full authority

was in the hands of the Ankara government, whether pertaining domestic matters such as the execution of laws, controlling the armed forces and supervising all the state's affairs, or pertaining foreign matters such as relations with other states and signing of treaties.

The Sultan meanwhile was in his palace experiencing a great deal of anguish, without finding anyone to listen to him. The British used to display sympathy towards him and pity him. Indeed, they used to give him money from time to time, after the treasury became empty and he had run out of funds. So he used to receive money from them as a gift, i.e. as a charity from them. It was amidst this status quo in Turkey, that the allied states Britain, France and Italy sent an invitation to the Ankara government and another invitation to the Sultan's government in Istanbul to attend the Lausanne conference in order to sign the peace treaty. This was on 17th October 1922. This invitation of the two governments in the country was met with anger by the National Assembly, thus the direct attempt at abolishing the *Khilafah* had started and the struggle over it had also started. The National Assembly, i.e. the assembly of Mustafa Kemal - was unhappy about these games, that is the invitation of two Turkish governments to attend the peace conference; the National Assembly wanted to put an end to this situation and rid the country from its dual rule. The National Assembly wanted to settle the score, and some of the deputies suggested the resignation of the Istanbul government and the establishment of a new government headed by Mustafa Kemal for life.

Whilst the National Assembly was debating this issue Mustafa Kemal was in Izmir, but he was closely following the news of the current debates. The Assembly contacted him twice to discuss with him the issue of the forthcoming peace conference, but he replied with apologies for not being able to attend claiming that his military duties are holding him in Izmir. Upon this Ra'uf and a host of politicians joined him in Izmir to seek his opinion on how the new government in Turkey should be, for it was inconceivable to have two governments, one being an interim

government in authority with Ankara as its centre and the other an official nominal government in the capital, headed by the Sultan and his ministerial cabinet. They suggested to Mustafa Kemal the merger of the two governments into one single government, with the *Khalifah* becoming a constitutional Sultan and Mustafa Kemal becoming the Prime Minister. He, however, did not reply to this proposal and they began to suspect his intentions. Ra'uf continued to press him with a series of questions and finally Mustafa Kemal promised to meet him in Ankara.

Consequently, the National Assembly convened and the deputies debated the issue. Mustafa Kemal's supporters said: "What did the capital's government do to salvage Turkey? Turkey has one single government, that is the government of Ankara, and the majority of the deputies suggest that the Istanbul government should resign and that Mustafa Kemal should form the new government, and that the *Khaleefah* should become a constitutional Sultan."

Amidst such heated debate and the gloomy atmosphere which engulfed the Assembly, Mustafa Kemal took to the podium and requested the deputies to pay attention to him. He then suggested the separation between the Sultanate and the *Khilafah*, thereby abolishing the Sultanate and removing Wahid-ud-Deen. At this point the danger facing the *Khilafah* became frightfully apparent and the uproar increased dramatically. Hence, Mustafa Kemal backed by eight of his personal followers demanded the holding of an immediate ballot; but the Assembly referred the matter to the foreign affairs committee in order to study it.

On the following day, the committee gathered, being formed of a group of lawyers and scholars. It spent long hours studying the issue of separating the Sultanate from the *Khilafah* and its members referred to texts from the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*, in addition to hundreds of examples from the history of the *Khulafa'*, both in Baghdad and in Cairo. It followed that the committee as a whole was averse to the proposal and it unanimously

rejected it.

Mustafa Kemal was present at the time; so when heard of their general consensus and realised that the committee's decision was a unanimous rejection of the proposal, he angrily leapt up onto a chair, interrupting the debate of the attendees and shouted: "Sirs! The Ottoman Sultan has usurped the authority from the people by force, and it is by force that the people are determined to regain it from him. The Sultanate must be separated from the *Khilafah* and abolished. This will happen whether you agree to it or not. All there is to it is that some of your heads will roll in the process."

Upon hearing this the committee members became panic stricken and their knees trembled. All they could do was to refer the proposal to the National Assembly.

The National Assembly then convened to debate the proposal. The overwhelming majority declared their rejection of the proposal and expressed their resentment towards it and even towards Mustafa Kemal himself. Mustafa Kemal sensed this and when the procedures to organise an open ballot on the proposal were about to start, he realised that it was inevitably going to be rejected and that the overwhelming majority was against it. Hence, he gathered his private supporters around him to protect him and demanded that a vote on the proposal should be taken only once, but some deputies refused and suggested taking the vote by calling each one by name. However, Mustafa Kemal refused this. His supporters were clearly armed and he shouted threats while they rested their hands on their pistols: "I am sure that the Assembly would accept the proposal with a general consensus and it will be sufficient to take a vote just by raising hands. Upon this the proposal was put forward to be voted on and few hands were raised; however, the speaker announced the result of the ballot as follows: "The Assembly has endorsed the proposal by a general consensus." Upon this a number of deputies jumped on to their

seats protesting and shouting: "This is not true, we did not agree to this." So the supporters of Mustafa Kemal shouted back: "Sit down! Shut up." Then chaos broke out and the uproar intensified, and the session was noisily wound up.

In the beginning of November 1922, Mustafa Kemal left the building of the National Assembly surrounded by his supporters. This was 14 days after the invitation to attend the Lausanne conference had arrived.

Five days after taking this decision, Rif'at Pasha staged a sudden military coup in Istanbul through which he seized the reins of power in the capital with the help of the army and the military power. This occurred right under the nose of General Harrington. Hence, he abolished the government of the Sultan by force. The Sultan pretended to know nothing about this situation for a few days; then he sent to Harrington a message with the maestro of the musical band at the Sultanic Palace. The message was verbal and a man conveyed it to Harrington by saying: "The Sultan is seeking the protection of the British Commander and the British government, for his majesty is certain that his life is in danger."

Two days later on 17th November 1922, a British ambulance came to the Sultan's palace and Wahid-ud-Deen climbed on board followed by his son, a eunuch carrying a small suitcase and a porter carrying his baggage. The car took him to where he boarded a steam boat, which in turn took him to a British warship that was waiting in the port. The warship took him to Malta.

In the wake of Wahid-ud-Deen's departure, his cousin the *Amir* Abdul-Majid ibn Abdul-Aziz was appointed as *Khaleefah* of the Muslims after the consent of the Greater National Assembly on this matter had been sought. Hence, many men from among the supporters of the *Khilafah* rushed to him to pledge their support for him. He was also visited by Ra'uf Beik and Doctor Adnan Beik, as well as Ali Fu'ad and Kathim

Qara Bakir and they openly declared their allegiance to him in order to let the world know that they were still loyal to the *Khaleefah* and that the *Khilafah* still existed. Mustafa Kemal was contented with the separation of the Sultanate from the *Khilafah* and he took over the reins of power, leaving the *Khaleefah* stripped of all authority. He then started to prepare for the peace conference.

The British stipulate the abolishment of the Khilafah and the secularisation of the state

On 20th November 1922, the Lausanne conference was inaugurated. It was attended on behalf of the Ottoman State by a delegation of the Ankara government only, who acted as the representative of the Ottoman State that was defeated in the World War. It was also attended by Curzon the British Foreign Secretary, as head of the British delegation, for the government of Lloyd George had resigned on 19th October 1922. The conference started its sessions and during it, the head of the British delegation Curzon, stipulated four conditions prior to recognising the independence of Turkey. These conditions were: the total abolishment of the *Khilafah*, the expulsion of the *Khalifah* beyond the borders, the confiscation of his assets and declaration of the state's secularisation. The success of the conference rested on the fulfilment of these four conditions. However, it was wound up on 4th February 1923 without yielding any result and it was declared a failure.

Ismat returned to Turkey and Mustafa Kemal rushed to meet him in Eskisehir where he learnt from him all the matters which had been raised at the conference; then he returned with him to Ankara.

On their arrival at Ankara station, the pair were surprised by the failure of Ra'uf, the Prime Minister, and the city's deputies to turn up to greet them. Mustafa Kemal was incensed by this and summoned Ra'uf and

demanded him to explain his behaviour. Ra'uf replied by expressing his protest against the sending of Ismet to the conference without consulting the government and against Mustafa Kemal's rushing to meet Ismet in Eskisehir also without consulting the government, stressing that this was an unconstitutional act; he then followed his protest by handing in his resignation from the Premiership.

Consequently, the National Assembly convened to debate the peace conference. The Assembly sided with Ra'uf and gathered to lend him support and the majority of its members were against Mustafa Kemal. The debate was heated and the deliberation lasted for nine days, during which time the deputies condemned Mustafa Kemal's acceptance of the truce with the enemies in Mudanya and described it as a trick which he had fallen for, stating that he should have rather continued his advance towards Istanbul, and even towards Athens if necessary.

The deputies then launched a fierce attack on Ismet, accusing him of infringement of procedure and imbecility in negotiating with Curzon. They also criticised his being sent without their consent and they decided to take a vote pertaining to his dismissal and the sending of a successor to resume negotiations in Lausanne. Upon this Mustafa Kemal became frantic and started to issue threats and to incite the deputies against Ra'uf, until he managed to foil the decision of dismissing Ismat, for he was his confidante and his faithful envoy in his contacts with the British and the man who obeyed him with no questions asked. To send someone else would jeopardise all of Mustafa Kemal's plans and it could have spelt his end. Hence, he fought desperately until he managed to overturn the decision of his dismissal and replacement.

He then set about plotting against the National Assembly and the struggle between them intensified. At this point most of the colleagues who had sided with him in the darkest hours during the past four years started to join forces against him, led by Ra'uf. Amongst them were Rahmi, Adnan,

Kathim Qara Bakir, Rif'at, Ali Fu'ad, Noureddine and others. Only Ismet, Fawzi and some of his friends remained on his side. The deputies joined Ra'uf one after the other and started criticising Mustafa Kemal openly. The majority in the National Assembly gathered against him and he realised that his defeat was a certainty.

The fatal blow

When Mustafa Kemal sensed that the whole atmosphere was against him and that the majority of the National Assembly was also against him, he thought of a way out from this critical impasse. These circumstances were not favourable to the resumption of the peace conference in Lausanne, for they would not allow the execution of the four conditions stipulated by the British which Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary, had made conditional for the success of the conference. Hence, it was imperative for him to undertake an action which would enable him to fulfil these conditions. It was also imperative to obtain a decision from the National Assembly endorsing the establishment of the Republic and electing him as President of the Republic, and to obtain a decision endorsing the total abolishment of the *Khilafah*. Since the majority of the National Assembly was against him and since it was unlikely that it would execute his plans or agree to proceed with him, he thought about dissolving the National Assembly and holding fresh elections which would enable him to bring a new National Assembly from among his own men, who would support him, execute his aspirations and endorse the resolutions he wanted.

Hence, he endeavoured to dissolve the National Assembly and hold fresh elections, hoping to acquire a majority. However, the Assembly which the election produced was against him just like the old one. Thus, he resorted to plotting against the National Assembly in order to throw it into confusion and to place it in a position that would make it seem unable to function. Hence, he staged a political conspiracy in order to generate a crisis and exploit it. He invited the ministers to dinner at his house in the

suburb of Cankaya during which they discussed the political status quo from all aspects. Then, on the basis of a request, the next day, all the ministers resigned in accordance to what they had agreed upon the night before.

The National Assembly convened in order to form the new government but it could not do so, for arguments between the deputies increased and quarrels broke out. Each deputy attempted to impose his own opinion and look after his own interests until the situation resulted in total chaos.

Two days later, Mustafa Kemal hosted another dinner party for some of his loyal friends, among whom were Ismat, Fathi and Kemal-ud-din and they talked about the crisis into which the National Assembly had fallen due to its failure to agree upon the formation of a government. They exchanged their views about the situation and at the end of their discussion Mustafa Kemal addressed them by saying: "it is high time we put an end to this mess. Tomorrow we are going to declare the establishment of the Republic. It is the solution to all these problems. Therefore, you Fathi complicate matters in the Assembly as much as you can tomorrow, so you will incite the deputies against each other. Then you Kemal-ud-din will propose that I should be invited to take control in order to save the Assembly from its crisis."

The next day, every one set about carrying out what they had agreed upon. The Assembly convened and noisy arguments broke out. The deputies came close to fighting each other physically. Amidst this huge uproar between the deputies, Kemal-ud-din suggested inviting Mustafa Kemal to form the government. The deputies agreed and forgot all their differences with him. However, Mustafa Kemal turned down their request at first. Thus, they sent him a new message in which the Assembly admitted its failure in solving the governmental crisis and requested his help. Hence, he stipulated that the National Assembly should accept his opinion without any discussion if they wanted him to form the government to which they

agreed.

On 29th October 1923, the National Assembly held an important meeting and Mustafa Kemal took to the platform and delivered a speech in which he declared turning Turkey into a republic. To quote from his speech: "You have sent for me so I could salvage the situation at this critical time. However, the crisis is of your own doing. The origin of this crisis is not a passing matter, but rather a fundamental error in the system of our government. The National Assembly is undertaking the function of the legislative power and the executive power at the same time. Every deputy from amongst you must interfere in every government resolution being adopted and stick his fingers in every governmental department and every ministerial decision. Sirs! No minister can fulfil his responsibility and accept the post under such circumstances. You ought to realise that a government built upon such a basis would be impossible to establish, and if it were established, it would not be a government but an anarchy. We ought to change this status quo. Therefore, I have decided that Turkey should become a republic with an elected president."

The deputies were stunned by this horrific decision and they became speechless, for they were not expecting it. When the voting took place, fewer than 40% of the deputies took part. Nonetheless, the decree that had been prepared beforehand, stipulating that Turkey should be turned into a republic was approved and Mustafa Kemal was elected as the first president of the Turkish republic. Then he embarked upon working towards abolishing the *Khilafah* and declaring the secularisation of the state. People sensed his moves and public opinion started to attack him. The word was spread everywhere that the new rulers of Ankara were *Kuffar*. The orators and preachers started to attack Mustafa Kemal. Leaflets and caricatures which attacked him fiercely were distributed. Then many of the deputies and prominent figures started to leave Ankara and headed towards Istanbul to rally around the *Khaleefah* Abdul-Majid. The atmosphere throughout the whole of Turkey turned against him. In

response, he started to try to win over supporters and thereby alleviate the onslaught.

Amidst such a status quo, the British supplied him with a weapon to use against those who were devoted to the *Khilafah*. At the height of the campaign against him, the two Indian Muslim leaders Agha Khan and Amir Ali sent a letter of protest on behalf of India's Muslims, demanding that the dignity of the Ottoman *Khaleefah*, the *Khaleefah* of the Muslims should be respected. Agha Khan was the leader of the Ismaeli sect, and it was known in Turkey and other parts that he was a friend of the British and their agent. Hence, the letter was published in the Istanbul press before it reached the Ankara government. Then Mustafa Kemal started to dig into Agha Khan's past. He highlighted the fact that he lived in Britain, that he ran his horses in the British race courses and mingled with the British politicians and ambassadors. He pointed out that the British had promoted his status through their propaganda machine during the World War until he was regarded as the leader of India's Muslims so that they could use him to threaten the Sultan of Turkey whenever necessary; thus he was a British puppet.

Mustafa Kemal became very active in striking the right note and inciting the public opinion against the *Khaleefah*. He used to say to people: "When Britain, the wicked arch enemy, failed to destroy Turkey through Greece, she resorted to her old tricks. Thus, she inspired her puppet Agha Khan to support the *Khaleefah* and split Turkey into two camps." He then set about stirring up the fervour of the National Assembly and this led the orators from among the deputies to rush into launching a fierce attack against the *Khilafah*, the clerics and the opposition leaders. They also endorsed a bill enjoining the fact that any opposition to the republic and any inclination towards the deposed Sultan would be considered a treason that carries capital punishment.

When some deputies highlighted the merits of the *Khilafah* from a

diplomatic aspect, Mustafa Kemal's supporters attempted to silence them by yelling and screaming and protesting. Then Mustafa Kemal stood up and said: "Was it not because of the *Khilafah*, Islam and the clerics that the Turkish peasants have fought and lost their lives for five centuries? It is high time Turkey attended to her interests, ignored the Indians and the Arabs and saved herself from the burden of leading the Islamic lands."

Then he sought to scrutinise the army and find out the extent of their support for their opposition to the abolishment of the *Khilafah* and the separation of the *Deen* from the state. So he attended the annual military manoeuvres near Izmir and spent days reviewing the situation with Fawzi and Ismet and probing the low ranking officers and soldiers. He found a strong opposition and failed to reach a conclusive outcome that reassured him.

He then spent several nights pondering on the matter from every angle, finally deciding to resort to terrorism. Mustafa Kamal picked from the Assembly one of the opposing deputies on a day when he had shown his fierce opposition in one of the sessions, and ordered someone to assassinate him on the same night while he was returning home. Another deputy delivered a speech in which he supported the *Khaleefah*, so Mustafa Kemal threatened him with hanging if he opened his mouth with the same thing again. He then summoned Ra'uf from Istanbul and forced him to take the oath of allegiance to him and to the Republic before the central committee of the People's Party, threatening him with dismissal from the party and from the committee if he failed to do so. He also sent a strict order to the governor of Istanbul, commanding him to cancel the pompous protocol surrounding the *Khaleefah* during the performance of prayer; he also lowered his standing to the lowest level and ordered his followers to abandon him.

Amidst this atmosphere of terror, and this propaganda and rumours, the Greater National Assembly called for a meeting. Thus, the Assembly

convened on 1st March 1924. The inaugural speech focused on the necessity to destroy the *Khilafah*. This was greeted with a barrage of fierce opposition.

Mustafa Kemal put forward to the Assembly a decree enjoining the abolishment of the *Khilafah*, the expulsion of the *Khaleefah* and separating the *Deen* from the state; then he addressed the angry deputies by saying: "We must at all costs safeguard the endangered republic and make her rise upon solid scientific bases. The *Khaleefah* and the legacies of the "Ottoman Family" must go, the dilapidated religious courts and their laws must be replaced by modern courts and laws, and the clerics' schools must concede their place to governmental secular schools."

Heated debates took place and bitter disputes broke out, but these came to nothing. On the second day, the National Assembly convened once more in order to review this decree; the session went on all night until 6.30 a.m. with fierce argument and unabated debate.

In the morning of the third day of March 1924, it was announced that the Greater National Assembly had approved the abolishment of the *Khilafah* and the separation of the *Deen* from the state. On the same night, Mustafa Kemal sent an order to the governor of Istanbul stipulating that the *Khalifah* Abdul-Majid should leave Turkey before the dawn of the next day; so he went with a garrison from the police and the army to the *Khaleefah's* palace in the middle of the night and the *Khaleefah* was forced to climb aboard a car that took him through the borders towards Switzerland, after he had been supplied with a suitcase containing some clothes and money. Two days later, Mustafa Kemal gathered all the throne's princes and princesses and deported them outside the country. All religious functions were cancelled and the "*Awqaf*" (endowments) of the Muslims became the property of the state, and the religious schools were turned into civil schools under the auspices of the education ministry.

In this way, Mustafa Kemal fulfilled the four conditions which Curzon,

the British Foreign Secretary had demanded, and the impediment preventing the convening and the success of the peace conference no longer existed. Hence on 8th March 1924, Ismet Pasha Turkey's foreign minister and head of the delegation, sent a letter to the conference requesting the resumption of negotiations, and the Allies agreed. On 23rd April 1924, the conference was reconvened and the conferees agreed upon the peace terms. The Lausanne Treaty was signed on 24th July 1924. The states recognised Turkey's independence, Britain evacuated Istanbul and the straits and Harrington left Turkey. Consequently, one of the British MPs protested against Curzon in the House of Commons for recognising Turkey's independence. Curzon answered him by saying: "The point at issue is that Turkey has been destroyed and shall never rise again, because we have destroyed her spiritual power : the *Khilafah* and Islam."

This is how the *Khilafah* was destroyed. It was completely destroyed and Islam was also destroyed as a state constitution, an *Ummah's* source of legislation and as a way of life. All of this was at the hands of the British through their collaborator and agent, the treacherous Mustafa Kemal. Therefore, when the discerning and sincere people say that the British are the head of *Kufr* among all the other *Kufr* states, they mean exactly that, for they are indeed the head of *Kufr* and they are the arch enemies of Islam. The Muslims should indeed harbour hatred for the British and a yearning for revenge over them. The British have managed to destroy the *Khilafah* and Islam through Mustafa Kemal in spite of the Muslims throughout the whole world in general and in spite of the Muslims in Turkey in particular. Hence, the rule by what Allah has revealed dwindled away from the face of the earth and the rule by other than what Allah has revealed has remained. The rule of *Kufr* remained. The rule of *Taghut* remained alone dominant over all people and was implemented throughout the whole world.

The vital issues and the measure of life and death

Here one may ask: "Was it with such ease that the *Kuffar* managed to destroy the *Khilafah* and wipe out Islam from the political scene, and while the Muslims number hundreds of millions, yet they do not defend their *Deen* nor do they defend their political entity?"

The answer to this is: "Yes! It was that easy for the *Kuffar* to topple the *Khilafah* and wipe out Islam from the political scene; and the Muslims did not defend it; they did not even fight to the last ditch, like the vanquished would do before leaving the battlefield. The reason why this occurred was because these vital issues were not perceived by the *Ummah* as those which necessitated life and death measures to be taken. Thus the *Ummah* was dealt this fatal blow without a complete effort to repel it. This was because the *Ummah* did not consider what took place as being a vital issue upon which her survival or her demise depended. Hence, she did not view this calamity with the importance with which she would normally view issues upon which her survival depends. Consequently, she did not undertake the resolution of this calamity with the urgency of life and death. As a result, the *Kuffar* managed to topple the *Khilafah* and to wipe out the system of Islam from existence.

The instinct of survival makes it incumbent upon every nation in the world and every people on Earth to have its own vital issues, for which a nation or a people would give its blood with consent and with utmost fervour, without any hesitation or any argument or debate. These issues are those related to either perishing or staying alive, or related to the

removal of a people from existence or the safeguard of their survival. Such measures are unique and almost identical to all people and the measures undertaken towards them are similar or very similar to all people, because they are tangibly life threatening. Hence, the issues are the same and the measures are also the same. However, the issues related to the survival instinct do not compose all of the vital issues, nor are the vital issues only those related to the survival instinct; for there are other vital issues related to the spiritual instinct and to the procreation instinct. However, people differ in these issues according to the difference in their viewpoint about life; thus they differ in the measures undertaken towards them; this is so because what makes these issues vital is the specific viewpoint about life; thus they differ and the measures they undertake also differ. Therefore, some vital issues differ between peoples and nations according to the difference in their viewpoint about life. The Muslims are one *Ummah* and they undoubtedly have a host of vital issues. The *Ummah's* vital issues, whether these were related to the survival instinct or the spiritual instinct or the procreation instinct, should be according to their viewpoint about life. Their viewpoint about life is determined by Islam alone. Hence, it is Islam that determines the vital issues and also determines the measures which need to be taken.

Islam has explained to people what are the vital issues, and made the measure of life and death towards them an obligation. Hence, the Muslims have no choice in determining their vital issues. That which is considered by Islam to be a vital issue must be viewed by the Muslims as such. Likewise, they have no choice in the measure of life and death undertaken towards such issues; because when Islam determined the vital issues, it also determined the measure that Muslims should undertake towards them.

For Islam to have faced events which threatened it and for Muslims to have come up against what threatened their existence, in their capacity as Muslims, was inevitable. It is self evident that any movement in life would

face that which threatens its existence, especially the movements of reform and more specifically the sound movements. Ever since the dawn of Islam, the struggle has been fierce between Islam and *Kufr*. This struggle has been about the fate of *Kufr* and the fate of Islam. The bloody struggle that was added to the intellectual struggle since the establishment of the Islamic State in Madinah was in defence of the vital issues. Hence, the existence of vital issues was to the Muslims inevitable and axiomatic, and their undertaking of the measure of life and death towards them was also inevitable and axiomatic. It is a matter for which *Jihad* has been made one of the most important duties, in which the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: "**The head of the matter is Islam, its pillar is the Salah and the peak of its hump is Jihad.**" It is also a matter for which *Jihad* will continue until the Hour comes, for he (saw) said: "**And Jihad has been constant since Allah sent me until the last generation of my Ummah fight the Dajjal, it will not be revoked by the tyranny of a tyrant nor by the justness of a just.**" The Messenger of Allah (saw) also said: "**Jihad is constant with the pious and the dissolute.**" Hence, the Muslims did not slacken for one moment in defending the vital issues, nor did they ever hesitate in undertaking the measure of life and death towards every vital issue.

Therefore, when they were faced with what threatened their fate as an *Ummah* and as a state during the crusades, the Muslims undertook measures which necessitated life and death. Thus, they engaged the *Kuffar* crusaders in a fierce war for more than a century. The Islamic *Ummah* managed to repel the fatal blow that threatened her. Likewise, the Muslims acted in the same way when the Mongols invaded the Islamic lands. The Islamic *Ummah* considered this invasion as a matter that threatened her existence, thus she undertook towards it the measure of life and death, and the Muslims engaged the Mongols in a war in which they sacrificed their lives without seeking any worldly gains until the decisive victory was theirs.

Therefore, the Muslims used to perceive the vital issues and used to

undertake towards them what was obligatory upon them, that is the measure of life and death. This was so because that which Islam had explained in terms of vital issues was considered as facts by the Muslims, which they clutched with a tight grip, and the perception of any danger was clearly manifested to them. Hence, it was inconceivable for them to face a situation that threatened their existence without undertaking towards it that which Islam has obliged upon them, that is the measure of life and death. Neither the Islamic *Ummah*, nor the Islamic State ever failed in the past to perceive and be aware of the vital issues. However, when the perception of Islam receded to the level of deviation and when the piety in the souls weakened to the level of keeping silent over the flagrant *Kufr*, these vital issues lost their consideration as being vital, and the measure of life and death was not undertaken towards them. Consequently, the threat to the existence loomed and the Muslims failed to give their blood and their lives generously in order to repel this threat. Hence, the *Khilafah* was destroyed, the system of Islam was abolished and the whole of the Islamic *Ummah* was threatened with extinction.

Thus, it is imperative to perceive the vital issues from the Islamic viewpoint as Islam decreed in the Book and the *Sunnah*. It is also imperative to perceive the compulsory measures which ought to be undertaken towards them as outlined by the Qur'an and by the *Hadith* of the Messenger of Allah (saw). Only then would awareness of the vital issues and of the compulsory measure towards them be generated and their neglect would then become inconceivable.

The vital issues according to Islam

If one were to review the Book and the *Sunnah*, one would find that Islam has determined these vital issues in an explicit manner and that it has also determined the compulsory measures towards them as being a matter of life and death. Islam has for instance considered apostasy from Islam, be it by an individual or a group, as a vital issue and has made the measure undertaken towards it one of life and death, that is either the guilty would repent or face death. Hence, Islam has determined the issue and also the measure. The Messenger of Allah (saw) said: "**He who changes his Deen must be killed**." It is also reported on the authority of ibn Masud who said: "The Messenger of Allah (saw) said: **The blood of a Muslim person who professes that there is no god but Allah and that I am the messenger of Allah is not violable except in three instances: the adulterer, the slayer of another person and the apostate who abandons the group**." This issue was to the Muslim a dominant concept and a fact which they firmly adhered to.

The Muslims used to implement it, and accordingly they would kill the apostate who refused to repent. The *Sahaba* did this in Yemen in the lifetime of the Messenger of Allah (saw); they also did this after him (saw) and those who succeeded them did the same. In the *Hadith* of Abu Moussa, it is reported that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said to him: "Go to Yemen!" Then he (saw) sent Mu'ath ibn Jabal to join him. When he reached him Abu Moussa threw him a pillow and said to him: "Get down." As Mu'ath was about to dismount, he noticed a man who was tied up; so he asked: "What is this." Abu Moussa replied: "He had been a

Jew, he then embraced Islam and then he became a Jew again." Upon this Mu'ath said to him: "I shall not sit until he is killed. He who revokes his *Deen* must be killed." Abu Dawood reported this as follows: "A man who apostatised from Islam was brought to Abu Moussa, so he invited him to repent for twenty nights or so; then Mu'ath came and invited him to repent but he refused so he struck his neck."

Al-Darqutni and Al-Bayhaqi extracted the following: "Abu Bakr invited a woman called Umm Qarfah to repent, having embraced Islam and then apostatised, but she refused to repent, so he killed her." Also, when many of the Arab tribes rejected the obligation of *Zakat*, Abu Bakr considered this to be apostasy from Islam. Thus, he brandished the sword against them and fought them until he brought them back to the fold of Islam.

It is reported in Al-Fatah on the authority of Abdullah ibn Sharik on that of his father who said: "It was said to Ali: There are people here at the door of the mosque who claim that you are their god. So he summoned them and said to them: "Woe to you! What are you saying?" They said: "You are our god, our creator and our provider." He said: "Woe to you, I am but a servant like you. I eat just like you do and I drink just like you do. If I obeyed Allah He would reward me if He wished, and if I disobeyed Him I feared that He would punish me." So fear Allah and repent. They still refused to repent. On the following day, they were brought to him and Qanbar came and said: "By Allah they went back to saying the same thing." So Ali said: "Let them in." So they again said the same thing. On the third day Ali said to them: "If you were to say the same thing again I shall kill you in the worst possible way." They still refused. So Ali ordered for a hole to be dug for them between the entrance of the mosque and the palace; then he ordered for wood to be thrown in the hole and lit up. He then said to them: "I shall throw you in if you do not repent." They still refused, so he threw them in."

When ibn Abbas heard of their burning, he expressed his disagreement

over their burning and said that they should have been killed. Akrama reported: A group of apostates were brought to the *Amir* of the believers, Ali so he burnt them. Ibn Abbas heard of this and said: If I had been him, I would not have burnt them because the Messenger of Allah (saw) has prohibited this by saying: "**Do not punish with the punishment of Allah.**" I would have killed them because the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: "**He who changes his Deen must be killed.**" In the days of Al-Mahdi the number of atheists and apostates increased; and he used to invite them to repent, and he who refused used to be killed. Al-Mahdi killed a considerable number from them.

Hence, the Muslims, among them the *Sahaba*, those who succeeded them and the *Khulafa'* used to kill the apostates. They were firm in the matter without any slackness. However, when the *Khulafa'* became weak and the understanding of Islam also weakened, slackness in the killing of the apostates occurred, until atheism and apostasy spread. This reached the point where some of the apostates established groups and adopted a *Deen* alien to Islam; as a consequence, the fear crept into the hearts of the Muslims, despite the fact that this was a vital issue on the one hand and a matter in which intercession and forgiveness were out of the question on the other hand.

Hence, it was not surprising for a man like Mustafa Kemal to declare war against Islam, i.e. apostasise against Islam with no one to execute the rule of *Shari'ah* upon him, since the issue of apostasy was no longer deemed a vital issue, and this is what happened. Therefore, it is imperative to put back this issue in its rightful place and consider it to be a vital issue, by killing every apostate, even if they numbered millions.

However, this does not mean that we can be casual in judging a person to be an apostate because he carries a doubtful opinion. We ought to be absolutely certain before we can judge him to be a *Kafir* and an apostate. If what he says makes him 99% an apostate and 1% does not make an

apostate, then the 1% should take precedence and he should be considered a Muslim, and he should not be judged as an apostate. This is because the Muslim in essence is a Muslim and he should not be judged to be a *Kafir* or an apostate unless this was conclusive. Likewise, we should not make excuses for him or seek pretexts to remove the rule of apostasy from him if he was conclusively an apostate, because this would impede the measure of life and death to be undertaken in a vital issue.

Hence, if a Muslim was to perpetrate that which renders him an apostate, such as praying in a church with the Christians and in the way they pray, or if he were to utter something that renders him an apostate, such as: "The story of Ibrahim mentioned in the Qur'an was not narrated by history, thus it is a false story", or if he were to believe in that which renders him an apostate, such as believing that Islam is not valid for this age, or such as believing in the separation of the *Deen* from the state; or if he were to doubt a conclusive fact of Islam, thus becoming an apostate, such as doubting that the Qur'an is the word of Allah, in all such cases and in other similar cases, he would conclusively become an apostate. Then the issue must be treated as a vital one, thus the measure of life and death must be undertaken towards it, which is either repentance or death.

Likewise, Islam has made the unity of the Islamic *Ummah* and the unity of the State one of the vital issues, and made the measure undertaken towards it a measure of life and death. Thus, it has determined the issue and the measure.

This is manifested in two cases: one is the issue of the plurality of *Khulafa'* and the other is the issue of the rebels. It has been reported on the authority of Abdullah ibn Amr ibn ul-A'as that he heard the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: "**He who pledged his Bay'a to an Imam giving him the clasp of his hand and the fruit of his heart shall obey him as long as he can, and if another comes to dispute with him, you must strike the neck of that man.**" It has also been reported on the authority

of Abu Said Al-Khudri that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: "**If a Bay'a has been taken for two Khalifahs, kill the latter of them.**" Hence, he (saw) made the unity of the State a vital issue when he prohibited the plurality of the *Khulafa'* and ordered the killing of the one who attempts to establish a plurality in the *Khilafah*, unless he retracts. It has also been reported on the authority of Ajrafa who said: "**I heard the Messenger of Allah (saw) say: He who comes to you while your affair has been united under one man, intending to drive a wedge between you or fragment your group, kill him.**" Hence, he (saw) made the issue of the *Ummah's* unity and the issue of the State's unity a vital issue when he prohibited the fragmentation of the group and ordered the killing of he who attempts to cause it, unless he retracts.

As for the rebels, Allah (swt) says:

وَإِنْ طَائِفَتَانِ مِنْ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اقْتَتَلُوا فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَهُمَا فَإِنْ بَغَتْ إِحْدَاهُمَا عَلَى الأُخْرَى
فَقَاتِلُوا الَّتِي تَبْغِي حَتَّى تَفِيءَ إِلَى أَمْرِ اللَّهِ

"If two factions from among the believers fall into a quarrel, make peace between them; and if one of them transgresses against the other, then fight the one that transgresses until it complies with the Command of Allah."
[T.M.Q. Al Hujarat 49: 9]

This is so because rebellion against him whose *Imama* of the Muslims has been established, namely the one who has been established as *Khaleefah* of the Muslims, is forbidden, due to the fact that rebellion leads to the disunity of the Muslims, the shedding of their blood and the squandering of their wealth. The Messenger of Allah (saw) said: "**He who rebels against my Ummah while they are united, strike his neck with the sword whoever he may be.**" Hence, those who rebel against the Imam are

considered rebels. They should be invited to repent and their doubts should be dissipated, but if they persist, they should be killed.
By prohibiting the plurality of the state and the rebellion against it and by prohibiting the division of the *Ummah*, the unity of State and that of the *Ummah* becomes a vital issue, because the Legislator (swt) has decreed that the measure to be undertaken towards them is a measure of life and death. Hence, he who perpetrates such an act should either repent or be killed. The Muslims had implemented this and used to consider it to be amongst the most important and most critical of matters. They never used to be lenient in this towards any Muslim whoever he might have been. Ali was never lenient with Mu'awiyyah, nor were Ali, the Ommayyads or the Abbasids lenient with the Khawarij, and the established facts pertaining to this are innumerable. However, when the *Khilafah* became weak and the understanding of Islam declined, Muslims kept silent over the breakaway of Islamic lands from the body of the *Khilafah*. Thus, a wedge was driven between the Muslims and they dissembled into several states, despite the fact that the breakaway of any country from the body of the State is a vital issue that stipulates either the repentance of the rebels or the waging of war against them, regardless of the cost in lives or in wealth.

The situation reached the point where Muslims lived in several states and the *Khilafah* became one of these states. The situation even worsened to the point where some Muslims started to call for an Islamic league, where the *Khilafah* state would enter into agreements with the states which broke away from her. In this way the *Khilafah* State would approve of their separation and of it becoming several states. This would support the disunity of the Muslims so that they turn into several peoples and nations, despite the fact that this was a vital issue and despite the explicitness of the *ahadith* about repentance or death. Hence, it came as no surprise when Mustafa Kemal declared the dismemberment of Turkey from the rest of the Islamic lands, and even when he declared his approval of surrendering the Islamic lands to the *Kufr* states to decide their fate because

the issue was relegated from the level of being a vital issue. So, the calamity took place and the Muslims became indifferent towards having to live in several states, and being divided into several peoples and nations. This was only because the issue of the *Ummah's* unity and the issue of the state's unity were no longer regarded as vital issues and the measure undertaken towards them was no longer a measure of life and death. Hence, it is imperative to restore this issue to its rightful place and to consider it as a vital issue, thus preventing the dismemberment of any country from the body of the *Khilafah*, even if this led to several years of fighting and even if it led to the killing of millions of Muslims.

Likewise, Islam has made the displaying of flagrant disbelief (*Kufr*) one of the vital issues, and made the measure undertaken towards it a measure of life and death. Islam determined the issue and the measure. Muslim reported in the *Hadith* of Auf ibn Malik that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: "**Amirs will be appointed over you, and you will find them doing good deeds as well as bad deeds. The one who hates their bad deeds is absolved from blame, the one who disapproves of their bad deeds is also safe, but the one who approves and follows is doomed**." It was said: "O Messenger of Allah! Should we not fight them with the sword?" He said: "**No, as long as they continue to establish prayer amongst you**." In another narration : "They said: "O Messenger of Allah, should we not fight them then? He (saw) replied: "**No, as long as they continue to establish prayer amongst you**." Bukhari reported on the authority of Ubadah ibn us-Samit who said: "The Messenger of Allah (saw) invited us so we pledged our *Baya'a* to him to hear and to obey in weal and woe, in ease and in hardship and evil circumstances; that we would not dispute with the people in authority, unless one witnessed a flagrant *Kufr* of which one had a conclusive proof from Allah." In Al-Tabarani's narration it said: "**evident Kufr**", and in a narration by Ahmed, it said: "**As long as he does not order you to commit a flagrant sin**." It was also reported on the authority of Auf ibn Malik Al-Ashjayi who said: "**The best of your Imams are those**

whom you love and they love you and who pray for you and you pray for them, and the worst of your Imams are those whom you hate and they hate you and you curse them and they curse you." We asked: O Messenger of Allah shall we not then resist them? He said: "**as long as they continue to establish Salah among you.**" Establishing Salah is reflected in the establishment of the *Deen*. It is also tantamount to the rule by Islam and the manifestation of its rites. The flagrant *Kufr* is the *Kufr* manifested in the actions performed by the ruler, which is the rule by *Kufr*.

Hence, the concept behind these *Ahadith* is that we ought to resist the rulers if they fail to establish the rule of Islam and if they fail to uphold its rites, and that we ought to fight them if they establish the rule of *Kufr*. Also to challenge the people in authority if we witness a flagrant *Kufr*. Challenging them means generating the challenge even if this led to fighting them. It is mentioned in Al- Fatah: "The scholars have agreed upon the obligation of obeying the dominant Sultan and of performing *Jihad* alongside him. His obedience is better than rebellion against him, for this would spare lives and appease the populace. However, they excluded from this the case where flagrant *Kufr* is displayed by the Sultan, in which case it would be forbidden to obey him, he should rather be fought by those who are capable, as mentioned in the *Hadith*." Al-Shawkani wrote in his book entitled Nayl-ul-Awtar : "Those who hold the opinion that it is obligatory to resist the wrongdoers with the sword and struggle against them, they used as evidence the general texts in the Book and the *Sunnah* ." Hence, the issue pertaining the obligation of ruling by Islam and preventing the rule by *Kufr* is a vital issue, because the Legislator (swt) has made the measure that should be undertaken towards it a measure of life and death; thus, he who does not rule by Islam and rules by a *Kufr* system should either retract or be killed.

The Muslims are ordered not to keep silent over the rule by other than what Allah (swt) has revealed, because it is a vital issue. However, when

Taqwa (piety) weakened in the souls of the Muslims and their understanding of Islam also weakened, it became easy for them to keep silent over the *Khulafa'* and the rulers if they ruled by *Kufr* in one single matter; and when their weakness increased, they found it easy to keep silent over the rulers if they ruled by *Kufr* in several matters. The long term consequence of this silence was that the rulers had the audacity to implement *Kufr* in a flagrant manner. The Muslims in Egypt kept silent when the ruler implemented the French civil law and abolished the *Shari'ah* rules. The Muslims kept silent in the Islamic State when the rules of *Kufr* were established as a constitution for the Muslims in 1909. Though they revolted against them at first, they remained silent afterwards. Hence, it came as no surprise when Mustafa Kemal destroyed the *Khilafah* and all the rules of Islam and declared the rule of *Kufr*. This was so because the Muslims no longer regarded this issue as a vital one, thus the calamity occurred and it became easy for the Muslims to witness the flagrant *Kufr* without brandishing the sword to remove it; it even became easy for them to be ruled by *Kufr* without condemning it. Worse still, the majority of Muslims accepted the rules of *Kufr*, became accustomed to them and relinquished the rules of Islam by choice. This situation reached such a point that Muslims accepted *Kufr* and called for it, in addition to keeping silent over it and not fighting against it. All this was only because the issue of ruling by a Kufr system was no longer considered to be a vital issue, and the measure undertaken towards it was no longer that of life and death. Hence, it is imperative to reinstate this issue in its rightful place and to consider it a vital issue. Thus, the rule by a *Kufr* system would be prevented even if this led to several years of fighting and even if it led to the killing of millions of Muslims and to the martyrdom of millions of believers.

Therefore, the perception of all the vital issues which the Legislator (swt) had outlined and determined and for which He made the measure to be undertaken towards them one of life and death, had weakened. The linkage of these issues to the Islamic *Aqeedah* had weakened, and they were relegated from their position to the point where they were no longer

perceived as being very critical *Sharia'ah* rules, for which arms should be taken up; thus they were relegated from the position in which the Legislator (swt) had placed them, i.e. they were relegated from the position of the vital issue. Consequently, the measure which the *Shari'ah* had decreed towards them was no longer deemed to be resistance by force to remove the rule of *Kufr* and restore the rule of Islam. Therefore the issue of destroying the *Khilafah* and removing the system of Islam was not perceived as a vital issue, and the fact that the issue was a vital one was not dominant consideration. So Mustafa Kemal went ahead with his action, destroyed the *Khilafah* and wiped out Islam from the political map without anyone taking up arms against him and fighting him. Therefore, the *Kuffar's* destruction of the *Khilafah* and their removal of the system of Islam from existence occurred with ease and simplicity, before the eyes of millions of Muslims. Had the Muslims been at the time aware of the fact that this issue was a vital one, upon which the fate of the Muslims and the fate of Islam depended and that the necessary measure towards it was to take up arms and fight Mustafa Kemal, the Muslims would not have been dealt this tragic blow. Hence, the Muslims' failure to perceive that this issue was a vital issue which necessitated a measure of life and death, was the cause of the calamity that befell them.

Establishing the Khilafah and the rule by what Allah has revealed is the vital issue for the Muslims

The Muslims are at present experiencing the severest of trials and the worst of ordeals. The effective remedy for them lies in the perception of whether their issues are vital or not, and in the undertaking of a life and death measure towards every vital issue. This is particularly necessary if the issue in question encompasses all the vital issues put together. As long as this perception is not achieved in a manner that dominates over the souls of people and the atmospheres around them, the Muslims will continue to be in a constant state of decline and degeneration, and they will never rise among the nations. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the Muslims to discern their vital issues and to have their perception of these issues find its way to the hearts, the souls and the general atmospheres around them so that it becomes a perception that drives them towards undertaking what the vital issues necessitate in terms of life and death measures; and this with an unshakable resolve and unrelenting zeal. This is the point at issue, and this is the basis of all that which the Muslims are attempting to undertake in order to deal with the reality they are currently facing.

The reality of the Muslims today is sensed by every Muslim; it does not require any explanation nor does it necessitate any elaboration. Their lands are ruled by *Kufr* systems, thus they are conclusively *Kufr* homelands. They

are divided into more than four types of entities, including States, Emirates, Sultanates and Sheikhdoms. They are too weak to stand up to the *Kuffar*. Hence the primary issue of concern for every country in the Islamic world is to become Islamic homelands and then unite with the rest of the Islamic countries. This issue is a vital issue; it is moreover the whole of the vital issues put together; thus it is imperative to undertake the necessary measures as a matter of life and death.

However, this vital issue, which is the issue of transforming the lands into the Islamic homeland and uniting them with the rest of the Islamic lands is an objective which the Muslims aim to achieve, and the method which ought to be undertaken to achieve this objective is that of re-establishing *Khilafah*. Hence the issue facing the Muslims today is the establishment of the *Khilafah* as a ruling system through which the transformation of the lands into an Islamic household is achieved and consequently to unite them with the rest of the lands of Islam.

However, it should be made absolutely clear that what is facing the Muslims today is not merely the appointment of a *Khaleefah* by saying that this is a duty of sufficiency upon the Muslims, according to what ibn Omar reported that the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: "**And he who dies without an Imam for the group ruling over him, his death is a death of Jahilyyah**", thus making it a non-vital issue. What is rather facing the Muslims today is establishing the *Khilafah*, which requires generating the *Khilafah* system as a ruling system, and the reality of this task is greater than the appointment of a *Khaleefah*, although the establishment of the *Khilafah* necessitates the appointment of a *Khaleefah*.

Establishing the *Khilafah* is conclusively a vital issue, because in addition to being a method to transform our lands from a *Kufr* homeland into an Islamic homeland, its establishment is also aimed at destroying the *Kufr* systems; i.e. aimed at removing the flagrant *Kufr* that is implemented - which is a vital issue, for the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: "**Unless you**

witness a flagrant Kufr." And also because it is mentioned in the *Hadith* : " … They said: " O Messenger of Allah, should we not resist them with the sword? He (saw) said : **No, as long as they continue to establish the Salah among you**." Therefore, the method to achieve the Muslims' issue is a vital issue, because it is the method of a vital issue, and because the *Shari'ah* evidence from the *Sunnah* indicates that it is a vital issue. Thus, it is imperative to undertake towards it the measure of life and death. However, since the *Kufr* has been sitting on the Muslims' chests and since their affairs fell in to the hands of the *Kuffar*, the hypocrites and the apostates, they have not ceased to attempt to break free from the noose of the *Kufr* authority and the hegemony of its masters and agents. They failed to realise that the issue for which they were struggling was vital, and that it had no other measure but the measure of life and death. Hence, it was the lack of perception among the group of Muslims, that stripped them in their quality as a group or an *Ummah* from their readiness to endure harm, imprisonment and torture, in addition to enduring poverty, devastation and death, something which can never be detached from the struggle over the vital issues. Hence, these attempts had been destined to inevitable failure and they failed to move one single step towards achieving the issue they were fighting for.

The Muslims were not in need of a great deal of thought and contemplation to perceive that their issue was a vital one. For it was evident from the first moment, just as it is evident today to any sighted person that it is rationally impossible for the *Kuffar* to enable Islam to return to the political scene (to the rule), as long as they had one iota of oppression against those who work towards this. The rank of the apostates and the hypocrites is not lower in terms of crime and oppression. They will throw everything they have in terms of power in the battlefield to fight those believers who aim at taking the power from them in order to establish the rules of Allah and to protect the sanctities of Allah through establishing the "*Hudud*" (penal codes) of Allah.

Therefore, it would be impossible for any attempt undertaken by the Muslims in this issue to bear fruit unless they considered it to be a vital issue, whose achievement depends on the measure of life and death. Due to the fact that the Muslims failed to perceive the nature of the battle and the sound rule of Allah (swt) pertaining to this battle, they set about attempting to liberate themselves in a method unworthy of the vital issues. Hence, their efforts towards this were below the measures of life and death. Indeed, the fact is that in regard to vital issues, such as the removal of the *Kufr* system and the establishment of the system of Islam, regardless of whether or not they were perceived as vital, one could not succeed in achieving them, no matter how great were one's force and no matter how tremendous the efforts exhausted were, unless they were considered as being vital and unless measures of life and death were undertaken towards them. Hence, the Muslims should be frankly told, be it individuals or groups, that they have no other choice but to carry out the struggle against *Kufr* on the basis of the life and death measures, because the nature of the issue at hand necessitates such measures and because the *Shari'ah* has in the Book and the *Sunnah* decreed such measures.

Besides, the Messenger of Allah (saw) has taught us how to determine our issues and ordered us to undertake the measures of life and death towards every vital issue. When Allah (swt) sent him with the Message of Islam, and when he started conveying the *Da'awah* through the intellectual struggle, he (saw) determined his issue as being the triumph of Islam and he undertook towards it the measure of life and death. It is reported that when he (saw) was told by his uncle Abu Talib what Quraysh had wanted from him, i.e. to make Muhammad refrain from attacking them and when he said to him: "Spare me and yourself, and do not put on me a burden greater than I can bear." The Messenger of Allah (saw) said to him: **O uncle, by Allah, if they were to put the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left on condition that I relinquished this matter, until Allah has made it triumphant or I perish therein I would not relinquish it.**" When he (saw) established the State and

performed *Jihad* by the sword, he also determined his issue as being the triumph of Islam and he undertook towards this issue the measure of life and death. It has been reported that when he (saw) was in Usfan, two junctions away from Makkah on his way to perform *Umrah*, he met a man from Bani Ka'ab and asked him whether he had any news about Quraysh. His answer was: "There are Quraysh who have heard of your coming and have come out wearing leopards' skins and have encamped at Dhu Tuwa vowing that you shall never enter Makkah in defiance of them. This man Khalid ibn ul-Walid is with their cavalry which they have sent in advance to Kura Al-Ghamim." Upon this the Messenger of Allah (saw) said: **"Woe unto Quraysh! War has devoured them. What harm would they have suffered if they have left me and the rest of the Arabs to go our own ways? If they should kill me, that is what they desired, and if Allah should give me victory over them they would enter Islam in flocks. If they do not do that they will fight while they have the strength; so what are Quraysh thinking of? By Allah, I shall not cease to fight for the mission with which Allah has entrusted me until He makes it triumphant or this Salifah gets severed**." The *Salifah* is the surface of the neck, and its severance is tantamount to death. Then the Messenger of Allah (saw) continued his March until he reached Al-Hudaybiya.

In these two cases: the case of carrying the *Da'awah* through intellectual struggle, and the case of carrying it through *Jihad*, the Messenger of Allah (saw) determined his issue as being the triumph of Islam, and he (saw) made it a vital issue. Thus, undertaking towards it the required and inevitable measure in both cases, that is the measure of life and death. Therefore, the Messenger of Allah (saw) said in the first instance: "**O uncle, by Allah, if they were to put the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left on condition that I relinquished this matter, until Allah has made it triumphant or I perish therein I would not relinquish it**." , and he (saw) said in the second instance: "**By Allah, I shall not cease to fight for the mission with which Allah has entrusted me**

until He makes it triumphant or this Salifah gets severed." Had the Messenger of Allah (saw) not made this issue a vital one and had he not undertaken the measure of life and death towards it, Islam would not have triumphed, neither by conveying the *Da'awah* through intellectual struggle, nor by conveying it through *Jihad* with the sword. This is similar to the Muslims' reality today, that is the dominance of the *Kufr* systems over them and the hegemony of the *Kuffar* and the hypocrites over them; if they do not treat their issue as a vital issue, and if they do not undertake the measure of life and death towards it, their endeavour would not yield anything and they would not be able to move one single step forward.

Therefore, we call upon every single Muslim, amidst this *Kufr* dominating the Islamic lands, to work towards establishing the *Khilafah* as a method to transform his own country into an Islamic household and unite it with the rest of the Islamic lands and to carry the *Da'awah* to the world in order to make Islam triumphant, while reiterating with truthful belief, enlightenment and awareness the saying of the Messenger of Allah (saw) : "**By Allah, if they were to put the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left on condition that I relinquished this matter, until Allah has made it triumphant or I perish therein I would not relinquish it**", and his saying : "**By Allah, I shall not cease to fight for the mission with which Allah has entrusted me until He makes it triumphant or this Salifah gets severed.**"

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